Interpreting Panini

ONE

कारके

वृक्षात् पर्णानि पतन्ति

Jag Deva Singh

Interpreting Panini

One

कारके

वृक्षात् पर्णानि पतन्ति

Jag Deva Singh

Published by

Panini Foundation.

1021 Tipton Ct. Westerville Ohio 43081
United States of America

http://www.paninifoundation.org

ॐ

ॐ

In Memoriam

The treatise is dedicated to the sacred memory of my wife, Raj Kumari Singh (January 5, 1926 – June 30, 2000). She could not survive to see its publication though the study was completed in her lifetime in May 1999.

Rajjo was more than a wife to me, a companion, and a partner in life, a source of encouragement and inspiration in all my temporal and spiritual strivings.

May her soul rest in peace!

Jag Deva Singh
Sept. 7, 2000
Westerville, Ohio, U.S.A.

Abbreviations

अथर्व	अथर्ववेद
आप	आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रम्
ऋग्	ऋग्वेद
कठ	कठोपनिषद्
कौ	कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र
गी	गीता
गोपथ	गोपथब्राह्मणभाष्यम्
छा	छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
दक्ष	दक्षस्मृति
यजु	यजुर्वेद
प्रश्न	प्रश्नोपनिषद्
बृ	बृहदारण्यक
बुद्ध	बुद्धचरितम्
भाग	भागवत पुराण
भास	भासनाटक चक्रम्
भाष्य	महाभाष्यम्
मनु	मनुस्मृति
महा	महाभारतम्
रा	रामायणम्
वा	वार्तिक
वासिष्ठ	वासिष्ठधर्मशास्त्रम्

ॐ

Contents

ॐ

Preface

It gives me great pleasure to express my heartfelt gratitude to Baldeo Singh Ph.D., व्याकरणाचार्य, professor emeritus, Sanskrit language and literature, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, who ungrudgingly found time to read with me almost two third of the manuscript when I was in India in 1998. His knowledge of Sanskrit grammatical texts is exceptional. I requested him in particular, thus, to check my interpretation of these ancient texts. However, I remain responsible for their rendering here.

We had very profitable discussions spanning over a few weeks and each session stretching over a couple of hours a day. Occasionally we strayed into a sort of review and assessment of developments of linguistic thought through the ages. Such discussions helped clarify certain issues for me. In the end I was convinced all the more that influenced by developments in linguistic and related fields in their respective times, Panini's commentators read things in him that were not there even seminally.

The treatise - manuscript was completed in May 1999. The text is mainly in English interspersed with Sanskrit text in Devanagari. The crux of the problem was to find someone who could process it on the computer and prepare a photo-ready copy for publication. Arvind Rana is the only competent person to accomplish it. He has been awfully busy with his professional work for Grammar Engine Inc. We were in a fix.

Michael Mohan Rana found time to type out the last chapter, Conclusion. He had learned the Devanagari script

i

when he was 11. He later typed the entire text of the Ashtadhyayi in to the computer, we selected the sutras printed in the appendix from his work. He could not do anymore. Dr. Sompal, Los Angles, offered to undertake it. However, he could not do much because of lack of experience. Kelly Rana proposed that she would type out the English portions and Arvind Rana could find time to fill in the gap by typing Sanskrit text. Still Arvind could not spare the desired time from his technical duties. The work thus lagged on.

In the mean time Mrs. Singh was taken ill towards the end of Dec 1999. The whole family was shaken. She was moved to John Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore where she was operated upon. However, she could not survive. She expired on June 30, 2000.

We had hardly performed the essential rituals for her, when in September I was taken ill. I was also moved from Columbus, Ohio, to Johns Hopkins, where I underwent a major surgery. I did survive, but it took me couple of months to recuperate and be able to look after editing the text. Montoo Rana typed the Introduction and the Preface.

Thus a miscellaneous lot of hands contributed to its processing. Dr. Sompal since then started working for Panini Foundation and helped complete typing the remaining text and did extensive editing and reediting. Arvind Rana finally produced the finished book.

My heartfelt thanks to all of them.

ॐ

NOTES

1. The सूत्रs are referred in this text in the format of CSNN.., where C is the chapter number (1-8) from the Ashtadhyayi, S is the section number (1-4) and NN.. is the सूत्र number. Thus 4364, refers to chapter 4, section 3, सूत्र number 64.

2. We have not made an Index for this book. This book is not a reference volume, but a scholarly study guide. We felt that an Index will be very extensive and hence useless. If you are searching for some particular topic, look in the table of contents and then scan the text for relevant information.

3. To learn more about Panini Foundation, its mission, purpose, and what it is currently doing about promoting the study of Indian Linguistic Tradition, please visit our web site:

www.paninifoundation.org

or write to:

Panini Foundation
1021 Tipton Ct.
Westerville, OH 43081
U.S.A.

ॐ

Introduction

The present study is an exercise in understanding and interpreting Panini. I have deliberately selected here his statements relating to कारक since these comprise a small and compact set dealing with the most crucial and central relationship in Panini's syntactic theory. From very ancient times it has been a most debated topic in Panini.

The expression कारक is used by him as a <u>technical</u> term all through his grammar, though not defined formally. It designates nominal stems that hold a particular type of syntactic relationship with verbal stems co-occurring with them in syntactic constructions.

From his use of the term in various structural contexts a pragmatic definition of it may be worked out. I formulate it as follows: 'Nominal stems, 'things, entities' denoted by which 'help actualize' 'action, activity' denoted by verb stems co-occurring with them, are कारक'.

Certain questions arise. Why does Panini conceive syntactic relationship between co-occurring nominal and verb stems rather than between their inflected forms which alone are found to occur in linguistic discourses? Why does he choose to designate कारक, basically a relationship between two entities — both at par structurally, by one of these, namely nominal stems?

I have tried to answer these and such other questions here.

I asked myself: What possibly could be Panini's analytical procedure to determine कारक relations?

At one stage of my inquiry I postulated that as a preliminary step Panini might have gathered pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems that displayed different कारक relations in the sense कारक is defined above. For this all that he had to do was to scrutinize simplex syntactic constructions and pick up such pairs with nominal stems ending in particular विभक्ति. Nominal stems in each group would denote a distinct कारक.

Next, I assumed, he proceeded to examine overall grammatical behavior of pairs in each group to see if these hold together consistently there. If these do, then there are legitimate grounds to recognize sameness of कारक relation in all pairs in a group.

I proceeded to examine these assumptions first with regard to the group that constituted of pairs where nominal stems ended in the 5th विभक्ति and later with another group with nominal stems ending in the 1st विभक्ति.

In both cases I did find partial evidence, not overwhelming though, to support these assumptions. The findings of the 5th विभक्ति group were published in the International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, Vol. XVII, 1988 and those of 1st विभक्ति were presented in a paper in Sanskrit World Conference, 1997, Bangalore, India.

For both studies the comments I received were not disconcerting. I felt complacent and believed I was treading the path laid down by Panini in all probability. Thus I proceeded in right earnest to prepare a full and detailed account of Panini's treatment of कारक along these lines.

However, I was disillusioned soon when I discovered that there were hardly any environments other than the विभक्ति affix that occurred with nominal stems in various other groups. And also when I re-examined the evidence I had marshaled earlier with regard to कारक types called अपादान and कर्तृ , it appeared to be sketchy and inadequate. The concept of totality of environments proved to be a myth. I felt totally disconcerted and let down. I realized I was following the will o' wisp. This was certainly not the approach Panini had pursued. I abandoned it in desperation.

I returned to his कारक statements once more and studied these more carefully in correlation with statements describing their representation by विभक्ति affixes given under अनभिहिते (231). It became clear to me that various statements (1425-54) describe sets of pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems gathered from कर्तृ-वाच्य type of constructions; and nominal stems in each set, being कारक, designate कारक-type as expressed by respective nominal विभक्ति mentioned in the statements under (231). (For representation of कर्तृ in कर्तृ-वाच्य constructions see further).

There follow certain corollaries.

One: Sets of co-occurring pairs of nominal and verb stems for each कारक are mutually exclusive. Even when these may be identical lexically, shared by two or more sets pertaining to distinct कारकs, these have to be distinguished in their respective roles in each कारक. For instance, the pair वृक्ष-पत् , undistinguished in its lexical composition, is included in sets of pairs described respectively in (1424), (1445) and

3

(1454). However, role of वृक्ष in each case is unique. In (1424) it serves as 'a fixed point of reference, ध्रुव'; in (1445) it denotes 'locus, आधार' and in (1454) 'an entity free to occur with any semantically compatible verb stem, स्वतन्त्र'. Thus accordingly it denotes respectively अपादान, अधिकरण and कर्तृ कारक along with many other pairs lexically of distinct composition.

It is not the lexical identity that Panini takes into consideration in assigning one and the same pair to different sets denoting distinct कारक; rather it is their respective roles vis-à-vis each other. Obviously lexical sameness is subordinated to their respective roles.

Two: Since sets of co-occurring pairs for each कारक are mutually exclusive i.e. independent of each other, order of statements describing them, does not have to involve any structural considerations. Rather, on the other hand, as we have shown, it is simply the consideration of अनुवृत्ति, reading of a shared expression from a preceding statement into following ones, underlies their present order of arrangement.

Thus the contention of Katyayana and Patanjali that the present order of their arrangement reflects the consideration that in case of conflict of representation of two or more कारकs by the same element, the कारक mentioned in the latter statement prevails, does not hold good. No single pair denotes two or more कारकs.

Three: In each structural statement describing कारकs, Panini has to incorporate the following information: (i) list of nominal stems denoting कारक relationship as distinguished

4

from those that denote non-कारक relations; (ii) specify sets of nominal stems and (iii) verb stems co-occurring with them, and (iv) assign a name to कारक type denoted by such sets of nominal stems.

Thus formulation of each statement involves four linguistic expressions, पदs or phrases, spelling out this information mentioned explicitly or implied. All statements, therefore, come to acquire an identical formal format. Recognition of this feature is very crucial in interpreting these statements in meanings intended by Panini. In my interpretation of these statements I have taken due care to identify these factors for each statement and state these explicitly.

Four: Formulation of कारक statements makes it clear that description of कारकs does not involve any semantic underpinnings. It is stated very simply in terms of linguistic factors, viz. co-occurring sets of pairs of nominal and verb stems, their freedom of co-occurrence characterized in terms of pragmatic roles of nominal stems and shared semantic features of verb stems.

To build कारक structure on any sort of semantic foundations is simply misreading Panini and going against his intents.

Five: Each कारक is represented uniquely in terms of formal linguistic features. In simplex syntactic constructions these are expressed by largely nominal or verbal inflections. There are some कृत् and तद्धित derivatives that participate in simplex constructions. In such constructions कृत् and तद्धित affixes express these distinctions.

In complex syntactic constructions and morphological and compositional constructions these are denoted either by

5

derivative affixes or structural features as the case may be. Their representation in such constructions is mere reflection of their representation in simplex syntactic constructions which underlie their formation in Panini's system.

Six: These statements are so designed as to fit into the overall design of his grammar intended to be built into a mechanism capable of producing structural units at various levels of grammatical organization culminating into syntactic structures viz. utterances and discourses.

In our discussion of representation of कारकs by nominal विभक्ति under अनभिहिते (231), we have discussed in sufficient details implications of the dichotomy of अभिहिते and अनभिहिते implied here and tried to determine factors which can possibly be subsumed under अभिहिते and कारक relations expressed by them.

In this context I have examined in depth what syntactic relations are expressed in general by 6th विभक्ति. It is, however, intriguing to notice that Panini recognizes, as argued by me, a typical syntactic relation called शेष distinguished from कारक relations between certain pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal stems enumerated in his statements. However, nature of this relationship vis-à-vis कारक is not altogether clear from scanty details he provides there.

Study of Panini's treatment of कारक in depth provides me an opportunity to speculate about his view of language and organization of its structure.

Panini gives priority to spoken speech for its study. Articulated, व्यक्त, speech sounds are employed in it. Sounds

other than articulated are simply called inarticulate, अव्यक्त irrespective of their source. Man in his speech makes use of physically most similar sounds to express inarticulate sounds if any occasion arises to do so. Use of articulate sounds in speech being an exclusive prerogative of human beings, they are thus called व्यक्त-वाच् , 'those who employ articulate sounds.'

Although Panini has no occasion in his grammar to offer any definition of speech, it may, however, be characterized in the light of his view of language as 'meaningful structured succession of articulate sounds intended for communication in human community.'

Natural unit of speech, whether in soliloquy or in communication between two or more speakers, is discourse. Panini seems to regard it as an appropriate unit of study, that is, for purposes of its analysis.

On the one hand, it may be viewed as a chain of speech sounds, meaningless in themselves and on the other, as a concatenation of chunks of speech sounds having distinct meanings.

Eschewing details, we may say that at these two levels Panini posits basic units – speech sounds at formal level and nominal and verbal roots and affixes at the semantic level.

Panini conceives grammar as a sort of mechanism to produce from these ultimate units various constructions – eleven in number as identified by him in the course of his analysis.

It may be pointed out that no hierarchy is visible in the process of their production. In general these presuppose one another. After all speech is unitary in its function and so

it tends to be in its structure also. Thus structures develop in a way simultaneously.

I have not referred to lexical, phonological and phonetic representations of either meaningful units or constructions produced from them (For this see Singh 1991).

One may legitimately ask: What is it that motivates a speaker to proceed to produce utterances, discourses? Obviously, it is the intent of the speaker that sets the process of speech production. How does it proceed? I have described formation of certain constructions which are usually cited in commentatorial literature as illustrative examples.

In this context I have made observations why Panini does not describe the phenomenon of ellipsis with which he is indeed so familiar and employs all the time in writing his grammar.

My study of कारक makes it crystal clear to me that Katyayana and Patanjali received no direct tradition of study of Panini. And in the absence of this they seem to have fumbled with interpretation of Panini's structural statements and as a consequence of it their treatment of कारक fails to bring out the desired intent of Panini. And the later commentators were wholly charmed by the महाभाष्य tradition and worked under its shadow.

I may add here that my interest in Panini is that of a linguist, a student of language structures and <u>not</u> that of a traditional student of Sanskrit grammar. That makes all the difference to my approach to Panini and the महाभाष्य tradition. I regard the अष्टाध्यायी, as received today, a full and complete grammar of two varieties of speech, छान्दस and भाषा

, as intended by Panini. I am focused on understanding and interpreting it in the light of linguistic facts, implied or mentioned explicitly, that underlie formation of its structural statements. Thus I am little interested in additional linguistic data presented and discussed in the महाभाष्य. Undoubtedly study of the महाभाष्य is highly rewarding in itself.

I honestly believe that in the circumstances no one can claim to have interpreted Panini finally. Study of Panini is a continuing process from generation to generation to generation. All that can be said about studies of Panini at any time is that one interpretation may be more satisfactory than the other. Finality is still elusive. May it continue to be so!

Jag Deva Singh
September 7, 2000
Westerville, Ohio   USA

ॐ

Chapter 1

Syntactic relations

To describe structural patterns in a language, a linguist has to have available to him appropriate and adequate linguistic data. He does not dream his grammar nor does it dawn on him unobtrusively in his moments of contemplation. His findings are always and necessarily based on linguistic facts gathered from field, sifted and analyzed, usually a few times. He may need to replenish his data time and again before he can be reasonably sure that he has exhausted all structural patterns and toils further in the venture are most likely not to reveal anything new worthwhile. He may, thus, relax and write up his description of the language concerned.

One can comprehend and appreciate structural description of a language better if he has access to the data on which a linguist bases his formulations.

In our study of Panini we are handicapped by lack of data recorded in his grammar, the अष्टाध्यायी. Here we are presented with final products of his efforts, a body of structural statements. However, an attempt may be made to reconstruct comparable data from linguistic elements mentioned in his statements, explicitly or implicitly, and various illustrative examples handed down to us by his commentators from ancient times. Supportive illustrations may be gleaned from older literature, though a very formidable task to undertake, particularly by a lone researcher.

10

Here we propose to study Panini's treatment of कारक. It will be our endeavor to figure out what the term कारक signifies, a term not defined formally by Panini; to make clear why there are only six varieties of it; to explain why nominal stems are designated कारक, to know how these are expressed linguistically, to understand what roles कारकs play in linguistic structures at various levels of linguistic organization, to determine place of कारकs in the overall design of language description, etc. and to work out what analytical procedure he follows in determining कारक types.

What is कारक?

The term कारक is used in Panini as a technical term (cf. 237; 3319; 5442 etc). It is introduced in (1423).

From his description that nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems as specified in these statements are कारकs. Now consider, for instance, the following constructions.

i.	अश्व: धावति ।	ii.	अश्वम् आरोहति ।
iii.	अश्वेन ग्रामं याति ।	iv.	अश्वाय घासम् देहि ।
v.	अश्वात् अवरोहति ।	vi.	अश्वे तिष्ठति काक: ।

In all these utterances, according to Panini, अश्व 'a horse' denotes कारक of one type or the other. It is कर्तृ~ in (i); कर्मन् in (ii); करण in (iii), and so on. Ascription of different designations here to अश्व is a subsequent story. First we have to establish कारक-hood of अश्व. What does it mean to say that अश्व is कारक? What is the feature shared by अश्व in all its occurrences in the above constructions? Panini does not raise

11

this question. He simply uses the term to denote nominal stems such as अश्व (in particular linguistic contexts) as कारक without telling us what feature marks it off. Let us make an attempt to find out what it signifies as a technical term.

We may readily concede that in writing his grammar, Panini does not work with nominal and verb stems as simple lexical items, speculating syntactic relationships between them. Bare stems in isolation do not contract any syntactic relations. To be related structurally lexical items have to be constituents of some linguistic constructions, found in actual use among members of a speech community. Panini's account of कारक is, thus, based securely on systematic analysis of real language data. To understand what he means by the term कारक, we may examine syntactic behavior of co-occurring nominal and verb stems in linguistic constructions.

Before we proceed to examine syntactic behavior of co-occurring pairs of nominal and verb stems in illustrative syntactic constructions, we have to make a decision as to what type of constructions do we choose to form basis of our analysis.

कर्तृ type of simplex constructions as unit of analysis

We have evidence in Panini to assume that unit of linguistic analysis for him is discourse, analyzable into smaller units—constituents called वाक्य, utterances. These may be simplex or complex. Both types are equally acceptable for our study since pairs of nominal and verbal forms occur in both. However, for ease of manipulation of data we opt for simplex type.

Simplex constructions do not show any one uniform structure. These are found to fall into three patterns as illustrated below.

1.   (a)   (I)   आत्मवन्तम् न कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनञ्जय! (गीता)

                    (II)   न माम् कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति । (गीता)

                    (III)   अहम् त्वाम् एकम् प्रश्नम् पृच्छामि ।

                    (IV)   अग्निर् दहति वृक्षान् ।

      (b)   (V)   गाण्डीवम् संस्रते हस्तात् । (गीता)

                    (VI)   अधर्माभिभवात् कृष्ण ! प्रदुष्यन्ति कुलस्त्रियः। (गीता)

                    (VII)   प्राज्ञस्यापि प्रज्ञा नश्यति विपरीतकाले ।

2.   (VIII)   धूमेनाग्नियते वह्निः ।

                    (IX)   कर्मभिर् न स बध्यते । (गीता)

                    (X)   लिप्यते न स पापेन । (गीता)

                    (XI)   कथम् निरापराधा अपि वयम् निष्कारणम् भवद्भिर् उपालभ्यामहे ?

3.   (XII)   भवद्भिर् अत्र क्षणम् विश्रम्यताम् ।

                    (XIII)   ग्लायते वने लताभिर् निदाघे ।

                    (XIV)   स्नायते माणवकैः पुण्यसलिलेषु ।

                    (XV)   किम् मुधा हास्यते मुहुर्मुहुर् एभिः स्त्रीजनैः ।

                    (XVI)   सन्तुष्यते अस्माभिर् येन केनापि ।

Ostensibly all these construction types are different formally. However, as we look closely into their structures these are found interrelated. Structures of (2) and (3) may be described more conveniently in terms of that of (1) rather than vice versa.

Construction type (1) has two varieties– (a) and (b). In (a) a nominal form ending in 2nd विभक्ति co-occurs with the verbal form which is conspicuously lacking in (b). This peculiarity may be accounted for in terms of inherent syntactic features ascribed to respective verb stems.

The nominal stems with 2nd विभक्ति in (a), to anticipate, designate कर्मन् कारक relation with co-occurring verb stems. Here such verb stems are called सकर्मक, with कर्मन् , transitive (tr). And verb stems in (b) where there is lack of co-occurrence of such a nominal form ending in the 2nd विभक्ति is accordingly called अकर्मक, without कर्मन् , intransitive (intr).

Construction type (1) is characterized typically by the feature of agreement in person and member of verbal forms and nominal forms ending in the 1st विभक्ति.

All the three constructions, as observed above, are interrelated structurally. We may now point out these interrelationships.

In both (2) and (3) nominal forms ending in the 1st विभक्ति in (1) correspond to 3rd विभक्ति, and inflectional forms ending in परस्मैपद or आत्मनेपद in (1), as determined by usage, correspond exclusively with आत्मनेपद. However in (2) these show agreement in person and number with a form ending in the 1st विभक्ति which is a reflex of 2nd विभक्ति form in (1). In (3) verbal form is always 3rd person singular.

In Panini these constructions are called respectively कर्तृ , कर्मन् and भाव. For convenience of reference we shall be using this terminology henceforth in our discussion.

कर्तृ type is central

From structural analysis of simplex constructions given above, it is clear that कर्तृ type is central. Verb stems of both the types, सकर्मक and अकर्मक participate in it. It may, thus, be regarded as more comprehensive and versatile. It exhibits all varieties of verb stems. There are no structural restrictions of any sort on selection of inflectional affixes after verb stems. On the other hand, कर्मन् and भाव types are limited in scope in as much as only one variety of verb stems participate in each one of these, transitive in कर्मन् and intransitive in भाव. For structural considerations affixes of आत्म नेपद alone are employed in both and in भाव only in 3rd person singular.

Obviously कर्तृ type is most appropriate unit of analysis for a study of कारक relations.

It is intriguing to conclude from a close scrutiny of stem pairs described in (1424-54) that these are gathered by Panini from a survey of कर्तृ type of simplex constructions.

Types of syntactic relations

For determination of nature of syntactic relations between co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs let us consider the following simplex कर्तृ construction.

 4. सरस्तीरे बक: एकपादेन सुखेन तिष्ठति ।
   "There stands with ease a crane on one leg on the bank of a pond".

The utterance is constituted of <u>five</u> units called पद्ऽ in Panini. Of these बकः, सरस्तीरे, एकपादेन and सुखेन are nominal. These are

15

not linked syntactically among themselves. However, all of these are related directly with the verbal form तिष्ठति. Their respective relationships with the verbal form differ significantly. Let us probe this issue in some details.

The verbal form तिष्ठति describes the action of 'standing'. Performance of this action cannot be conceived without its being associated with the पदs बकः, सरस्तीरे and एकपादेन which respectively answer the questions: Who stands? Where does it stand? And with what means does it stand?

'Things' donated by these expressions help 'actualize' performance of action denoted by the verbal form. Distinct contributions of these 'things' towards actualization of the activity of 'standing' are reflected in syntactic relationships between nominal and verbal expressions co-occurring in the utterance.

On the other hand, the nominal expression सुखेन tells us simply about the 'manner' in which the action is being performed. It answers the question: How does the crane stand? It stands 'at ease, comfortably'. Neither it helps nor prevents 'actualization', of action.

Consider a few more examples:

5. देवदत्तः दिवसम् वेदान् अधीते ।
   "Devadatta studies the Vedas during the whole day uninterruptedly".
6. माणवकः अध्ययनेन काश्याम् वसति ।
   "The boy resides in Kashi for the purpose of studying".
7. द्यूतकारः मूत्रपदेन गृहात् निरगच्छत् ।
   "The gambler skipped away from the house under the pretext of urinating".

16

In (5) देवदत्तः and वेदान् , related to अधीते, tell us respectively who studies and what. 'Performance' of the act of 'studying' cannot be imagined in its fullness without their participation. On the other hand, the expressions दिवसम् gives information as to how long the act of studying proceeds- the whole day. The action will continue to be carried out even if the expressions दिवसम् is dropped.

Again in (6) माणवकः and काश्याम् denote 'performer' and 'locale' of action of 'residing'. Successful performance of action entails their participation. The expression अध्ययनेन talks of 'the purpose' of 'residing' as 'studying'. It has little to do with 'accomplishment' of action.

Likewise in (7) The nominal form द्यूतकारः and गृहात् , as related with निरगच्छत् , tell us respectively 'who' it is that 'skipped away' and 'from where', while मूत्रपदेन, on the other hand, speaks of the 'basis' of 'skipping away'. Obviously, it does not contribute anything towards consummation of action.

Here two types of relationships may be recognized between co-occurring nominal and verbal forms on pragmatic considerations. If 'things, entities' denoted by nominal forms 'help actualization' of action described by co-occurring verbal form, the relationship is that of कारक, otherwise it is that of non-कारक, under which are subsumed miscellaneous relationships.

Role of inflection in कारक relations

In our discussion above, we have assumed that syntactic relations obtain between nominal and verbal inflected forms. This proposition needs to be examined further.

An inflected form, nominal or verbal, is broadly constituted of two elements, namely stem and inflectional affix. We may look into their respective roles in determining syntactic relations.

Let us go back to the construction (4). We may consider the verbal form first. It consists of स्था 'stand', a verbal root and the affix ति, denoting 3rd person singular, active voice and present tense. It may be replaced by any of the several forms made from the root such as अतिष्ठत् , अस्थात् , तस्थौ all meaning 'it stood'; स्थास्यति, स्थाता 'it will stand'; तिष्ठेत् 'it may stand', etc. We notice that such replacements do not bring about any corresponding realignment in syntactic relationship with nominal forms. These relationships remain intact.

Now consider change of विभक्ति in nominal forms. For instance, if सरस्तीरे is replaced by any such form as सरस्तीरम् , सरस्तीरेण, सरस्तीरस्य etc. made from the nominal stem सरस्तीर its relationship with तिष्ठति is snapped altogether. Likewise any change in विभक्ति in बक etc. results in disruption of relationship with the verbal form. The construction itself becomes incoherent and thus unacceptable.

It may, thus, be presumed that syntactic relations, कारक or non-कारक, are not dependent on verb inflection. But, on the other hand, any change in nominal विभक्ति either extinguishes the relationship or alters its nature (though in rare cases). Syntactic relationships are, therefore, <u>sensitive</u> to nominal affixes and <u>not</u> to verbal ones.

Structural implications

(a) कारक relations hold between nominal and verb stems

One obvious implication is that it cannot be maintained that syntactic relations exist between nominal and verbal inflected forms, the position we assumed in our discussion initially. Nor can it be claimed that these obtain between inflected nominal forms and verb stems for the simple reason that these two entities belong to two different levels of linguistic structures. One is a simple stem while the other one is more than a stem, an inflected form. The inescapable conclusion, therefore, is that **syntactic relations hold between nominal and verb stems.** The role of nominal inflections is to distinguish between different कारक relations or denote respective कारकs. (कारक relations, it may be mentioned, are expressed, अभिहित, variously including nominal and verbal inflections. We shall discuss this issue in full details in a later section).

(b) कारकs are of six types

As a corollary of this it may be held that number of कारक relations in the language would not exceed that of inflectional types which are just seven. Since one of these, namely the 6th विभक्ति primarily denotes non-कारक relations between nominal stems and marginally such कारक relations which are indicated by other विभक्ति types. (However see chapter 8). Thus only six कारक relations are postulated by Panini. As

19

observed above each विभक्ति type indicates a distinct कारक.

Nominal stems designate कारक

There is another important issue which may be considered here. We have demonstrated above that कारक is essentially one type of syntactic relationship. It exists between nominal and verb stems as shown above. For its consummation both are equally important. One is intrigued as to what motivates Panini to designate this relationship by one of the partners, namely nominal stems.

It seems Panini's decision to designate कारक by nominal stems does not involve any issue of linguistic theory. It is simply a question of setting up a convention of usage. In such matters linguist's convenience is supreme.

The following considerations might have weighed with him to have nominal stems designate कारक.

(i)   Nominal stems may be considered more than equal partners in building कारक relationships for the reason that these are the principal carriers of primary grammatical markers (indicators) i.e. विभक्ति affixes characterizing different कारकs. Nominal stems, thus, serve as necessary prop to which these are tagged.

(ii)   Nominal stems are ubiquitous in their pragmatic roles which help 'actualize' different aspects of action denoted by verbal stems co-occurring with them. For instance, अश्व 'a horse' is capable of exhibiting various roles in relation to different actions denoted by verb stems co-occurring with it in

constructions (1-6) given above. Such roles are inconceivable in case of verb stems.

(iii)   In grammatical description in Panini the term कारक as well as कर्तृ , कर्मन् , अपादान etc. are used as convenient tags to indicate groups of nominal stems holding कारक relation in general or any specific type with co-occurring verb stems. Perhaps there is no other way of referring to these groups short of listing them. A few illustrative examples are discussed below to show how use of these terms allows him to capture generalizations in structural statements and consequent economy in their formulations.

(a)   Consider the statement अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् । (3319). The suffix घञ् (=अ) comes after a verbal stem (to form a derivative) in the sense of संज्ञा (i.e. a common noun in specific meanings other than suggested by etymology) denoting कारक relations other than कर्तृ (vis-à-vis the verb stem from which it is formed).

(i)   Take the derivative प्रास 'a spear'. It is formed by adding the suffix घञ्=अ to the verb stem प्र-अस् 'throw'. The derivative प्रास is assumed to have कर्मन् relation with the verb stem प्र-अस् from which it is derived. The hypothetical underlying structure प्रास्यन्ति तम् 'they hurl it', postulated here, brings out this relationship. The pronominal form तम् is masculine singular in the 2nd विभक्ति. It stands for प्रास- the form yet to be derived.

(ii)   The nominal stem राग, derived from रञ्ज् 'dye' by adding the same suffix, denotes करण कारक. It

21

means 'something with which one dyes something i.e. color'. Accordingly its underlying structure may be posted as रञ्जति or रञ्जयति अनेन.

(iii)   Similarly the nominal stem प्रपात is derived from the underlying structure प्रपतन्ति अस्मात् 'from which people/something fall' by adding the same affix to प्र-पत् 'fall'. The derivative has the sense of 'precipice' and denotes अपादान vis-à-vis प्र-पत् .

(iv)   The derivative प्रासाद is made from the underlying structure प्रसीदति अस्मिन् 'wherein one delights'. The same suffix is added to the stem प्र-सद् . It has अधिकरण relation with प्रसद् and denotes 'palace'.

In his structural statement given above Panini uses the term कारक to denote derivatives like प्रास, राग, प्र-पात, प्रासाद etc. which denote various कारक relations with verb stems from which these are derived.

To form derivatives denoting all कारक relations except कर्तृ , Panini could not have formulated a generalized statement as the above without using the term कारक (to except कर्तृ. The term कारक is qualified by अकर्तरि).

(b)   Consider another statement, namely कर्मण्यण् (321). 'The affix अण्=अ is introduced after a verb stem which in construction with it denotes कर्मन् relation'.

The statement is designed to explicate structure of nominal stems such as कुम्भकार from an underlying structure कुम्भम् करोति 'He makes a pot'. A nominal stem कार meaning 'one who makes' is produced.

22

Now the two constituents कुम्भम् and कार in the underlying structure are compounded obligatorily (2219). Thus finally the form कुम्भकार 'a potter' is obtained.

Likewise are made the derivatives वेदाध्याय from वेदान् अध्येति 'one studies the Vedas'; उदकहार from उदकम् हरति 'one carries water'; कर्णधार from कर्णम् धारयति 'one holds the helm, a sailor'; गोनाय from गाम् नयति 'he tends the cows' etc.

The term कर्मन् in the structural statement refers to a group of such nominal stems as कुम्भ, वेद, उदक, कर्ण etc. which hold कर्मन् relation with respective stems. There is no other way to read them in the structural statement.

(c)   Take another statement अपादाने चाहीयरुहो: । (5445). 'The affix तसि=तस् is introduced optionally after a nominal stem ending in the 5th विभक्ति that indicates अपादान except in case of stems that are in construction with ही 'be abandoned' and रुह्(=अवरुह्) 'ascend'.

It describes formation of such forms as ग्रामतस्, चौरतस्, अध्ययनतस् from nominal forms ending in the 5th विभक्ति denoting अपादान. These are found to occur in such utterances as the following:

चौरात् बिभेति ।
ग्रामात् आयाति ।
अध्ययनात् उद्विजते ।

Here अपादान refers to a group of such stems as ग्राम, चौर, अध्ययन etc. which occur in underlying structures with appropriate verbal stems.

Obviously use of the terms कारक, कर्मन् , करण, अपादान etc. in structural statements referred to above is an ingenious device to allude to groups of nominal stems denoting कारक relation in general or any particular कारक with respective co-occurring verb stems. Perhaps we may not be able to think of any other alternative as effective and practical as use of these technical terms. Thus, to designate कारक relations Panini's use of nominal stems alone is well motivated.

ॐ

Chapter 2

Procedure to determine कारक relations

We have shown above that Panini recognizes two types of syntactic relationships viz. कारक and non-कारक . Of these कारक relationship holds exclusively between co-occurring nominal and verbal stems underlying in nominal and verbal forms in syntactic constructions. We have also demonstrated that in pairs exhibiting कारक relationship role of विभक्ति suffix with nominal stems plays a crucial role in assigning nominal stems to distinct कारक types.

These facts allow us to speculate about analytical procedures Panini might have followed in determining कारक types which we propose to discuss here.

In the first instance, we may assume Panini surveyed कर्तृ-type constructions to identify co-occurring pairs that hold कारक relationships as opposed to non-कारक ones. Why कर्तृ-type? In कर्तृ-type, it is obvious; there are no restrictions on use of verbal stems. All types of verbal stems could be noticed there pairing with any semantically compatible nominal stems. He was, thus, able to gather an indefinite number of such pairs.

In the next step he would sort out these pairs into different groups according to विभक्ति types following nominal stems. Occurrence of the same विभक्ति affix after a bunch of nominal stems can undoubtedly be interpreted to mean that it is one and the same कारक relation that is held by all these pairs.

Thus each विभक्ति type helps identify respective कारक types.

Our assumption with regard to Panini's discovery procedures of कारक types is confirmed by linguistic facts presented in his grammatical statements in this context. We discuss these below.

An examination of the statements (1424-55) reveals that he lists here in one or more sets, co-occurring pairs of nominal and verbal stems for each कारक. Such an exhaustive listing is possible only on the survey of कर्तृ type constructions where verbal stems of all types can pair with any nominal stems compatible semantically with them. A few illustrative examples of such pairs may be given here.

वृक् - भी , चौर -त्रा , गोमय - जन् , उपाध्याय - दा , शिशु - रुच् , अस्मद् - धारय , शत्रु - द्रुह् , तद् - प्रतिश्रु , पादप - छिद् , भूमि - शी , आसन - अधि-आस् , परशु - भिद् , गो - दुह् , ओदन - खाद् , वृक्ष - स्था, सूर्य - प्रकाश् , मेघ - गर्ज्   etc.

Again in statements under (231) he describes among other things, what विभक्ति affix comes after nominal stems figuring in pairs belonging to respective कारक types as described in (1424-55) when used in कर्तृ-constructions. Following कर्तृ constructions illustrate assignment of appropriate विभक्ति affixes after nominal stems occurring in some of the pairs given above.

> वृकाद् बिभेति मेषपाल: ।
> गोमयाद् वृश्चिका जायन्ते ।
> उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति ।
> आसनम् अध्यास्ते नृप: ।
> गां दोग्धि पय: ।

26

शिशुम् ओदनं खादयति जननी ।
शिशवे मोदकं रोचते ।
देवदत्ताय शतं धारयामि ।
शत्रवे द्रुह्यति नृपतिः ।
पादपः वर्धते ।
सूर्यः प्रकाशते ।
मेघाः गर्जन्ति ।

We may point out in this context that Panini also describes िवभक्ति assignment under (231) to nominal stems in certain pairs that participate in कर्तृ constructions. विभक्ति suffixes here do not denote any कारक distinctions since these pairs do not satisfy initially the pragmatic criterion that cognizes what pairs hold कारक relations. Illustrative examples of such pairs are given below. Nominal and verbal forms in which these pairs occur are underlined.

तस्य <u>भयात्</u> गुहायाम् <u>वसति</u> ।
<u>शतात्</u> तं राजपुरुषाः <u>बध्नन्ति</u> ।
<u>पाकाय</u> गृहं <u>याति</u> देवदत्तः ।
<u>अध्ययनेन</u> काश्यां <u>वसति</u> ।
<u>संवत्सरेण</u> महाभाष्यं <u>अध्येष्यते</u> ।
<u>क्रोशम्</u> व्याकरणम् <u>अधीते</u> ।

Thus on the basis of his survey of कर्तृ constructions, Panini identifies an indefinite number of co-occurring nominal and verbal pairs holding कारक relationship as opposed to non-कारक; sorts out these into six groups on the basis of distinct विभिक्त affixes after nominal stems, thus, denoting <u>six</u> कारक types and organizes each group into one or more sets reflecting freedom of co-occurrence between constituents in these sets (1424-55). Simultaneously the survey allows him to describe

27

representation of each कारक type in कर्तृ constructions by respective विभक्ति affixes (relevant statements are given under 231).

Identification vs. representation of कारक types

We have touched upon two issues here, namely identification of कारक types and their linguistic representation. It looks however, anomalous to invoke the same grammatical elements viz. nominal विभक्तिs to explicate both of them. And for this reason we might consider these to be intertwined together. Some further clarification is thus in order here.

Nominal विभक्तिs obviously play no role in determining whether co-occurring nominal and verbal stems hold or do not hold कारक relationship. The कारक relationship between them is established independently in terms of the pragmatic criterion suggested by us and discussed earlier. However, we assert that occurrence of the same विभक्ति after nominal stems holding कारक relationship with co-occurring verb stems in कर्तृ constructions, indicates sameness of कारक relationship. It is only in this sense विभक्ति affixes are credited with identification of कारक types. And विभक्ति affixes are the sole formal features to do so.

Panini, it may be pointed out, does not acknowledge this position publicly. For him कारक types are determined on the bases of 'pragmatic role' of 'things, entities' denoted by nominal stems vis-à-vis 'action' denoted by verbal stems co-occurring with them if the pairs already hold कारक relationship as opposed to non-कारक one. In other words a

co-occurring nominal and verb stem pair must hold कारक relationship before it can be assigned to any particular कारक type. For instance, the pair वृक्ष-पत् holding कारक relationship is assigned to अपादान type in terms of the 'thing, entity' denoted by वृक्ष- plays the role of 'fixed reference point, ध्रुव ' vis-à-vis the action of 'moving away, अपाय ' denoted by पत् . And so on. Mere occurrence of 5th विभक्ति, for instance, after भय- in भयात् अपैति 'because of fear i.e. being afraid he runs away' does not establish अपादान relation between the constituents of the pair भय-उप-इ since there is no कारक relation between them.

However, we still believe that in कर्तृ construction विभक्ति affixes after nominal stems in pairs that hold कारक relation do allow one as a practical strategy to identify कारक types. This incognito role of विभक्तिs, nonetheless, finds no place in Panini. It may, however, be noted that ordering of six groups of कारक statements in (1424-55) clearly reflects their correlation with 5th 4th 3rd 7th 2nd and 1st विभक्ति types respectively in कर्तृ constructions.

On the other hand, linguistic representation of कारक is not a simple and straight question. Pairs denoting कारक relationships participate in all types of constructions, syntactic, morphological and compositional. In कर्तृ construction कारक relations except कर्तृ-कारक are represented by respective विभक्तिs. Even in case of कर्तृ-कारक 1st विभक्ति shows agreement in person and number with verbal forms in कर्तृ construction. The two entities stand at par structurally.

To conclude

Panini's procedure to determine कारक relations is simple enough. It is based on linguistic facts, devoid of any semantic considerations and philosophical or metaphysical assumptions.

ॐ Chapter 3

Structural pattern of formulation of कारक statements

Under कारके (1423) Panini describes in (1424-54) all nominal and verb stem pairs that exhibit कारक as apposed to non-कारक relationship in कर्तृ constructions.

These pairs divide into six groups, each group distinguished by विभक्ति type following nominal stems. It means that pairs in each group denote the same कारक type. These are, thus, <u>six</u>. The 6th विभक्ति does not denote any specific कारक type, exclusively. Marginally it may denote in some pairs the same type which is denoted by some other विभक्तिs.

For various pragmatic reasons (discussed by us in an earlier section), Panini chooses to designate कारक relationship by nominal stems, although, basically it is based on co-occurrence of two linguistic entities viz. nominal and verb stems.

Nominal and verb stems in pairs do not co-occur randomly. There are restrictions on their co-occurrence. Panini sorts out pairs in each group into one or more sets reflecting freedom of their co-occurrence. Nominal and verb stems comprising a set are identified separately in general or specific terms.

Sets of pairs for each variety may very in number. Sets for अपादान are eight, for सम्प्रदान and कर्मन् ten each; for करण four and for अधिकरण and कर्तृ one each. Some pairs, it may be pointed out, belong optionally to two sets denoting

31

different कारक types. There are, thus, as many structural statements as there are sets.

Thus, common feature all nominal stems in these sets of pairs share is that all of these denote कारक in general. Nominal stems in a set come to designate a particular variety as a consequence of their co-occurrence with verbal stems described in the set.

Accordingly formal format of structural statements describing कारक types by nominal stems comes to be evolved as follows. Being कारक nominal stem X co-occurring with verb stem Y denotes कारक type Z.

Now it remains for us to demonstrate that statements (1424-54) describing various sets of nominal and verb stem pairs denoting specific कारक relations follow an identical structural pattern of formulation.

These statements are verbless sentences, as most of the statements in Panini are. The copula verbal form भवति or अस्ति is always understood there.

First constituent

There are four constituents in each statement. One of these, shared by all of them, is the expression कारके forming a distinct statement by itself (1423). It serves as अधिकार and is, thus, read in all statements that follow it.

Second constituent

Second constituent is identified easily by its final position in the initial statement of the group describing a specific कारक type. It ends in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति singular and denotes the name

32

of the respective कारक. It is read in the subsequent statements in the group.

The statements are organized generally in groups under each specific कारक variety. However, there are deviations from this practice for practical reasons i.e. availing of reading of linguistic elements from preceding statements, अनुवृत्ति. Such statements are (1438, 43-44).

Third constituent

Of the other two constituents, one ends in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति singular and the other in the seventh or sixth.

The constituent ending in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति may be a पद or phrase. It characterizes nominal stems variously. To avoid any misunderstanding all these constituents are listed below. The statements in which these occur are given within brackets.

ध्रुवम्	(24)
भयहेतुः	(25)
असोढः	(26)
ईप्सितः	(27)
येनादर्शनम् इच्छति	(28)
आख्याता	(29)
जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः	(30)
भुवः (कर्तुः) प्रभवः	(31)
कर्मणा यम् अभिप्रैति सः	(32)
प्रीयमाणः	(33)
ज्ञीप्स्यमानः	(34)
उत्तमर्णः	(35)

ईप्सितः	(36)
यम् प्रति कोपः	(37)
(यम् प्रति कोपः)	(38)
यस्य विप्रश्नः	(39)
पूर्वस्य कर्ता	(40)
(पूर्वस्य कर्ता)	(41)
साधकतमम्	(42)
(साधकतमम्)	(43)
(साधकतमम्)	(44)
आधारः	(45)
(आधारः)	(46)
(आधारः)	(47)
(आधारः)	(48)
ईप्सिततमम्	(49)
तथायुक्तम् चानीप्सितम्	(50)
अधिकतम्	(51)
गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसानार्थ-शब्दकर्माकर्मकाणाम्	
अणिकर्ता सः	(52)
हक्रोः (अणि कर्ता सः)	(53)
स्वतन्त्रः	(54)

Linguistic elements wherever required to be read from preceding statements are closed in brackets here.

Fourth constituent

The constituent occurring in the 7ᵗʰ or 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति may be a पद, simple or compound or a phrase. It identifies co-occurring verb stems in a variety of ways including enumeration.

34

With stems that are compound or form part of a phrase Panini invariably uses 6th विभक्ति. In case of single stems, perhaps, consideration of convenience of description prevails in his choice of 6th or 7th.

For the sake of clarity we shall like to list here all the constituents as in case of the third constituent.

अपाये	(24)
भीत्रार्थानाम्	(25)
पराजे:	(26)
वारणार्थानाम्	(27)
अन्तर्धौं	(28)
उपयोगे	(29)
जने:	(30)
भुव:	(31)
(ददाते:)	(32)
रुच्यर्थानाम्	(33)
श्लाघ-ह्नुङ्-स्था-शपाम्	(34)
धारे:	(35)
स्पृहे:	(36)
क्रुध-द्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानाम्	(37)
क्रुध-द्रुहोर्-उपसृष्ट्यो:	(38)
राधीक्ष्यो:	(39)
प्रत्याङ्भ्याम् श्रुव:	(40)
अनुप्रति-गृण:	(41)
दिव:	(43)
परिक्रयणे	(44)
अधि-शीङ्-स्थासाम्	(46)
उपान्वध्याङ्वस:	(48)
(गति-बुधि-प्रत्यवसानार्थ-शब्द-कर्माकर्मकाणाम्) णौ	(52)

35

हक्रो: णौ   (53)

It may be noted that mention of fourth constituent in the 6th or 7th विभक्ति is missing in the statements (1430; 32; 42; 45; 49-51 and 54).

If Panini does not make any explicit mention of this constituent denoting co-occurring verb stems here, it is for the simple reason that their presence can be made out easily. The following comments make it clear.

The verb stems जन् , भू and दा (सम्प्रदा) from part of the statements जनिकर्तुः प्रकृति (1430); भुवः प्रभव (1431) and ... स सम्प्रद ानम् (1432). In the interest of economy of description Panini would consider their mention separately as superfluous. His commentators from very ancient times interpret these as appropriate stems in the context. No misunderstanding results from not incorporating these elements in these statements.

In case of the rest of the statements characterization of nominal stems in terms of such features as साधकतम , आधार, ईप्सि ततम , अनीप्सित , अकथित and स्वतन्त्र indicates at the same time what verb stems qualify to co-occur with them. Any native speaker is capable of making an appropriate choice. Panini takes advantage of native speakers knowledge of language use.

Further, verb stems co-occurring with most of the nominal stems denoted by these features are so numerous and varied that it is not easy to bring these under one head to match with साधकतम etc. For any linguist the task is not easy to accomplish. Panini is, thus, justified in not attempting to characterize respective groups of verb stems that go with nominal stems identified in these statements. Non-mention of

verb stems simply implies co-occurrence of any appropriate verb stem compatible semantically.

Following discussion illustrates how features characterizing nominal stems determine selection of appropriate co-occurring verb stems.

Take the feature साधकतम . If the thing परशु 'an axe' is picked up as 'the most efficient means' of performance of an action, it naturally points out to acts of 'cutting, splitting, breaking etc.' Thus the epithet साधकतम simultaneously identifies nominal stems such as परशु etc. as well as such verb stems as छिद् , भिद् , कृत् , विदृ etc. Thus verb stems are implied by the nature of nominal stems identified by the epithets साध कतम etc.

To denote what appropriate verb stems co-occur with nominal stems, an expression like क्रियायोगे in the 7th विभक्ति meaning 'in connection with verb stems or in co-occurrence with verb stems' may be understood to occur in these statements.

Interpretation of कारक statements

Above we have identified what syntactic units compose these statements. We may now be in a better position to undertake their interpretation.

By way of illustration we may discuss the statement

ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् (1424).

Reading कारके from the preceding statement we have the full text exhibited as follows.

कारके ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् ।

37

The constituents ध्रुवम् and अपादानम् are both in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति. These are related syntactically. The expression अपादान is used predicatively. Construed with ध्रुवम् it forms the syntactic string ध्रुवम् अपादानम् (भवति). It may be rendered as 'ध्रुवम् is अपादान.'

The expression ध्रुव as explained above, identifies a particular group of nominal stems. It is not pertinent to our discussion here to spell out what precisely this group is. In our discussion here we continue to manipulate with the term ध्रुव in this sense. And अपादान is the name of a particular कारक variety.

The group of nominal stems denoted by ध्रुव does not automatically receives the designation अपादान. The expression कारके and अपाये both occurring in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति condition ध्रुवम् in their respective ways.

Consider अपाये first. Construed with ध्रुवम् we have the syntactic phrase ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् (भवति). It may be interpreted as 'the nominal stem group ध्रुव co-occurring (in construction) with अपाय is अपादान.' The expression अपाय denotes class of verb stems meaning 'movement away'. Thus the group of nominal stems denoted by ध्रुव signifies अपादान when it is in construction with verb stems denoted by अपाय.

Now consider कारके. Construed with ध्रुवम् it lays down a condition on ध्रुव that it is अपादान only when it is कारक -- कारके ध्रुवम् अपादानम् . 'ध्रुव is अपादान on being कारक.'

It may sound a little puzzling to say that for वृक्ष to designate अपादान relation in the sentence वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति, it is incumbent on it to be कारक prior to that. The nominal stem वृक्ष is both कार

क and अपादान at the same time here. Why does Panini insist that वृक्ष has to be कारक prior to its being called अपादान knowing fully well that वृक्ष co-occurring with पत् cannot be anything but कारक and अपादान ? It cannot denote one without the other. The nominal stem वृक्ष does not occur in two exclusive environments to denote two distinctions.

True; on surface it looks illogical to assign two roles to वृक्ष when it occurs patently in one and the same environment.

We may refer to our discussion distinguishing relations obtaining between nominal and verb stems into two distinct types viz. कारक and non-कारक on pragmatic considerations. When things denoted by nominal stems 'help' actualize action denoted by co-occurring verb stems, the syntactic relationship between these is called कारक. The opposition here is between कारक and non-कारक. If it is not कारक than it won't be called अपादान.

Nominal stems designating कारक are further distinguished into six types on the basis of formally distinct environments in which these are found to occur. For instance, the nominal stem वृक्ष in all the following constructions denotes कारक relation (as opposed to non-कारक) since 'the thing tree' denoted by it 'helps' actualization of actions denoted by respective verb stems co-occurring with it.

1.   वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति ।
2.   वृक्षे काकस् तिष्ठति ।
3.   वृक्षम् जलेन सिञ्च ।
4.   वृक्षः पर्वते प्ररोहति ।

39

Now being कारक it is अपादान in (1); अधिकरण in (2), कर्मन् in (3) and कर्तृ in (4).

'Being कारक' and 'being a particular type of कारक' are two separate notions as 'being human' and being Negroid'. You have to be 'human' before you could be declared "Negroid". Thus it is very much justified for Panini to assume nominal stems as denoting कारक relation in general as apposed to non-कारक before he could assign a group of nominal stems to a specific कारक type in collocation with a particular group of verbal stems.

Any nominal stem, thus, has to be कारक before it is assigned any specific कारक designation. Panini's use of कारके in these statements as a conditioning factor, thus, makes sense. The group of nominal stems denoted by the term ध्रुव, under discussion, thus, has to be कारक before it receives the designation अपादान.

The statement कारके ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् may, thus, be interpreted as follows.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoted by ध्रुव in construction with verb stems denoted by अपाय, designate अपादान."

Other statements are also to be interpreted in the same manner.

ॐ

40

Chapter 4

Formulation and interpretation of कारक statements

We now proceed to discuss how Panini might have formulated structural statements describing various कारकs. It is assumed that each statement explicates a distinct body of data. We have reconstructed sample data for each statement from fragments of linguistic elements embedded in the statements themselves, illustrative examples given in commentatorial works and from general literature. In the light of information obtained from analysis of such data we have attempted to demonstrate how these statements could have been composed.

1. अपादान कारक

We have argued above that in co-occurring nominal and verbal pairs holding कारक relation (as defined), each विभक्ति after nominal stems typically <u>denotes</u> a distinct कारक and nominal stems in these pairs <u>designate</u> respective कारकs.

Consider now the following constructions.

वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति ।	ग्रामाद् आगच्छति शकटेन ।
धर्माद् विरमति ।	वृकेभ्यो बिभेति ।
दस्युभ्यस् त्रायते ।	अध्ययनात् पराजयते ।
माषेभ्यो गा वारयति ।	उपाध्यायाद् अन्तर्धत्ते ।
गोमयाद् वृश्चिको जायते ।	हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति ।

(All these examples are from the भाष्य. on 1423 etc.)

It is claimed that nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति here

hold कारक relation with verb stems co-occurring with them. It is reasonable to assert that कारक relation between various nominal and verb stem pairs here is <u>the same</u>. It may be called by any name. Panini chooses to call it अपादान. Derivationally the expression may mean 'taking off, moving away' being made from the verb stem अप-आ-दा 'take off, move away' by adding the suffix अन (represented lexically as ल्युट् 33115). Here used as a technical term it refers to nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति holding कारक relation with co-occurring verb stems.

Scrutiny of additional discourses yields an overwhelming number of such pairs.

(i) Once Panini is able to identify co-occurring pairs holding अपादान relation, he proceeds to sort out these into sets indicating their freedom of co-occurrence. We may now watch him at work. Consider pairs denoting अपादान in the following illustrative utterances.

> वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति ।
> 'The leaf falls from the tree.'
> अश्वात् त्रस्तात् पतितो अश्वारोह: ।
> 'The horse rider fell down from a shying horse'.
> आसनाद् उत्तिष्ठति आचार्य: ।
> 'The teacher rises up from his seat.'
> बुभुक्षितो भ्राष्ट्राद् अपूपान् अपकर्षति ।
> 'The hungry pulls out cakes from the oven.'
> कृषक: कूपाद् जलम् उदञ्चति ।
> 'The farmer draws water from the well.'
> गाण्डीवम् स्रंसते हस्तात् ।
> 'The Gandiva (bow) slips off the hand.'

42

ईषीकाम् मुञ्जात् प्रवहेत् ।

'One should separate straw from munja grass.'

घटात् निश्च्योतन्ते जलबिन्दव: ।

'Water drops trickle down from the pitcher.'

पर्वताद् अवरोहति पथिक: ।

'The traveler descends from the hill'.

हीयते अर्थाद् य उ प्रेयो वृणीते ।

'He falls short of his goal who chooses the pleasurable.'

अस्मात् स्यन्दन्ते सिन्धव: सर्वरूपा: ।

'From him flow out rivers of all sorts.'

भक्त: सर्व-पापेभ्यो मुच्यते ।

'A devotee is absolved of all sins.'

न्याय्यात् पथो न प्रविचलन्ति धीरा: ।

'The wise do not swerve from the path of righteousness.'

माम् तावद् उद्धर शुचो दयिता-प्रवृत्या ।

'Please! Save me from grief by getting the news of my beloved.'

तद् यथाहिर् जीर्णायास् त्वचो निर्मुच्यते इषिका वा मुञ्जात् । एवं हैवेते सर्व स्मात्

पाप्मनः प्रमुच्यन्ते ये शाकलां जुह्वति ॥ (गो. 3.4.6)

"Just as a serpent releases itself from worn out skin and a reed from munja grass, so do they liberate themselves from all sins who perform शाकल sacrifice".

As Panini surveys verb stems, he may notice that all of these denote 'moving away' of an entity, physical or non-physical from another such entity. For sharing this semantic features the stems पत् 'fall'; स्रंस् 'slip off'; अवरुह् 'descend', स्यन्द् 'trickle

down'; उद्-अञ्च् 'draw'; प्र-वह् 'separate' etc. constitute a semantic class. These are subsumed by Panini under the expression अपाय 'moving away' being derived from the stem अप-इ 'move away' by adding the affix अ (represented lexically as अच्).

Do nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति denoting अपादान relation co-occurring with this class of verb stems also constitute a corresponding class by sharing some feature of any sort? The nominal stems वृक्ष 'a tree'' हस्त 'a hand'; अश्व 'a horse'; मुञ्ज 'the munja grass'; कूप 'a well', etc. do not seem to share a feature of any sort.   Semantically they are a miscellaneous lot.

Panini steps out of linguistic and semantic world and moves into wider realm of language pragmatics. He observes that nominal stems do signify 'things, entities' from which 'movement away' originates. Such a pragmatic role may characterize group of stems as a distinct class. Panini uses the expression ध्रुव to denote it.   Literally the term means 'stable, fixed.' However, it will be misleading to interpret it here in its literal sense. It is intended to signify nominal stems that denote 'entities, things', physical or non-physical, moving or stationary, that play the role of 'a reference point' for 'moving away'.

Panini now has all the information needed to formulate a structural statement describing freedom of co-occurrence between nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति designating अ पादान कारक and verb stems co-occurring with them in the type of constructions illustrated above.

We may remind ourselves that all this information which he displays for the first time in his grammar is obtained from

44

an analysis of linguistic data as homework. It does not come out of the blue. To properly comprehend formulation and meanings of his structural statements we need to keep this fact in mind.

To repeat, he is talking of कारक relations and among कारक relations he is talking of the type designated by nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति, called अपादान and he is organizing pairs holding कारक relations into sets on the basis of features accounting for their co-occurrence. His statement embodying this information reads as follows.

(कारके) ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम्। (1424)

It may be rendered as below.

"On being कारक (कारके), nominal stems denoting entities that serve as 'point of reference (ध्रुवम्)' in relation to the act of 'moving away' denoted by verb stems co-occurring with them (अपाये), are अपादान।"

(ii) Next Panini considers stem pairs illustrated in following constructions.

वृकेभ्य: बिभेति मेषपाल:।
'The shepherd is afraid of wolves.'
बिभेति अल्पश्रुताद् वेदो माम् अयम् प्रतारयिष्यति।
'That he will cheat me, the Veda fears a man of little knowledge.'
यमाद् उद्विजते जन:।
'People fear Yama, the god of death.'
सम्मानाद् ब्राह्मण: नित्यम् उद्विजेत विषाद् इव।
'A Brahmin should always fear honor as one would

45

poison.'

पिशुनाद् अहेर् इव शङ्कते ।

'He is scared of a back-bite as one is of snake.'

गुरो: सन्त्रस्यति माणवक: ।

'The student is afraid of his teacher.'

अबिभयू रात्रेस्तमसः । (गो. 3.5.1)

'(The gods) were afraid of the darkness of night'.

The verb stems भी, त्रस्, शङ्क, उद्-विज् etc. here express the sense 'fear, be afraid of.' These may, thus, be subsumed under a semantic class denoted by the expression भ्यर्थं ' stems having the meaning 'fear.'

What about nominal stems ending in the 5th विभक्ति co-occurring with these? Nominal stems वृक 'a wolf', यम 'Lord of Death'; गुरु 'a teacher'; सम्मान 'honor' etc. though semantically wide apart, may be put together in one class for the identical role of 'entities' denoted by them in relation to the act of 'fearing'. These denote 'cause of inspiring fear'. Panini uses the expression भयहेतु 'cause of fear' to designate this class of nominals.

It may, however, be pointed out that there is nothing inherent in the nature of these entities that they must 'cause fear'. A snake may scare the mother but not necessarily the child. All that is intended to claim here is that whenever 'entities' denoted by such stems 'cause fear', then these stems stand in अपादान relation vis-à-vis verbal stems meaning 'to fear'.

Now to account for co-occurrence of verb stems denoting 'to fear' with nominal stems, 'entities' denoted by which play the role of 'cause of fear' and designating of अपादान कारक by them, Panini could formulate a statement like कारके भ्यर्थानाम्

भयहेतुः अपादानम् . However, there is no such statement in Panini. Why? To understand this we may consider nominal and verb stems co-occurring in the following set of sentences.

वृकेभ्यस् त्रायते मेषपालम् कश्चित् पथिकः ।
'Some passersby provide protection to the shepherd from wolves.'
अल्पम् अप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ।
'Even a little practice of this virtuous path saves one from great disaster.'
पापात् पाहि मा गोविन्द !
'O Govinda! Save me from sin.'
हरिणेभ्यो रक्षति सस्यम् कृषाणः ।
'The farmer protects his crops from deer.'

Here the verb stems त्रा, पा, रक्ष् , etc. denote the sense of 'protecting'. These constitute a semantic class and may be subsumed under the expression त्रार्थ.

Nominal stems वृक, हरिण, भय, पाप, etc. on the other hand denote 'entities' that play the role of 'cause of fear'. These may be subsumed under the expression भयहेतु .

To appreciate how entities denoted by वृक 'wolf' etc., play the role of 'cause of fear' vis-à-vis the act of 'protecting' we may probe the sentence वृकेभ्यस् त्रायते मेषपालम् कश्चित् पथिकः ।

The situation depicted here may be visualized as follows. The passersby happens to go the way where he finds a shepherd being confronted with a pack of wolves. Apprehending harm for him from them, he proceeds to offer protection to the shepherd. What prompts the passersby to take any action under the situation is apprehension of

47

'potential' harm to the shepherd from wolves. 'Wolves, etc.,' are 'cause of fear', not for the person who swings into action to offer 'protection', but for one who is being protected.

Obviously, the role of वृक 'wolf' etc., vis-à-vis त्रा 'protect' etc., does not appear to be that of 'cause of fear' भयहेतु .

In defense of Panini we may say that it is <u>not</u> relevant for him to know who is the one who is afraid of वृक etc. In order to explicate syntactic relationships between वृक and त्रा. The information relevant to have in this context is: Protects from what? The clear answer is: from वृक. Why? Because वृक is 'source of fear, भयहेतु'. This is how वृक etc. playing the role of भयहेतु vis-à-vis त्रा come to denote अपादान relation.

Now to account for co-occurrence of verb stems meaning 'protect, guard' with nominal stems 'entities' denoted by which play the role of 'cause of fear' and designating of अपादान कारक by them, Panini may have a structural statement like कारके त्रार्थानाम् भयहेतुः अपादानम् ।

Panini notices that nominal stems 'entities' denoted by which play the role of 'cause of fear' co-occur with two sets of verb stems, namely भ्यर्थ and त्रार्थ and denote the same कारक relation i.e. अपादान. In the interest of economy of statement he collapses these two statements. His composite statement reads as follows.

कारके भीत्रार्थानाम् भयहेतुः अपादानम् ।

It may be rendered as below.

'On being कारक, nominal stems standing for entities that are cause of fear, are अपादान when related to

48

verbal stems meaning 'to fear' or 'protect'.

It may be pointed out that verb stem classes denoted by भी and ञा are respectively intransitive and transitive. Constructions involving these verb classes differ in structure. Difference in syntactic structures of these constructions is, however, of little concern here since role played by entities denoted by nominal stems vis-à-vis the actions denoted by these classes are identical.

(iii) Consider nominal and verb stem pairs holding अपादान कारक relation in the following illustrative examples.

> अध्ययनात् पराजयते माणवक: ।
> 'The student is unable to cope with studies.'
> व्याकरणात् पराजयन्ते मन्दबुद्धय: ।
> 'The dull-witted find the study of grammar unbearable.'
> शत्रो: पराजयन्ते कापुरुषा: ।
> 'The cowards are unable to stand the enemy.'
> विषयेभ्य: पराजयन्ते योगिन: ।
> 'The ascetics cannot suffer sensual pleasures.'

परा-जि is the only verb stem that shows up in the data. It means 'be overcome by, be unbearable'. It is intransitive and constitutes a class by itself.

Nominal stems like अध्ययन 'study', शत्रु 'enemy', etc. co-occurring with it indicate entities that are 'unbearable'. By virtue of their distinct role vis-à-vis पराजि, these constitute a class which is denoted by the term असोढ 'unbearable' in Panini.

Panini's structural statement describing co-occurrence of

49

nominal stems denoting entities which are 'unbearable' in relation to action denoted by पराजि and designation of अपादान relation by them, reads as follows.

कारके पराजेर् असोढ: अपादानम् (1426)

It may be rendered as under.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting objects that are unbearable vis-à-vis action denoted by the verb stem पराजि, are अपादान.

(iv) Consider co-occurring pairs denoting अपादान कारक in the following illustrative examples.

> माषेभ्य: गा: वारयति कृषक: ।
> 'The farmer keeps off cows from beans.'
> यवेभ्य: अश्वान् निवारयति ।
> 'He wards off horses from barley.'
> अग्ने: माणवकम् वारयति ।
> 'He keeps the boy away from fire.'
> कूपाद् अन्धम् वारयति ।
> 'He holds back the blind from the well.'
> चापलात् निषेधति गुरु: शिष्यम् ।
> 'The teacher prevents the student from mischief.'
> अत्यशनात् निरुणद्धि शिशुम् माता ।
> 'Mother dissuades the child from overeating.'

The verb stems वृ , निवृ (both causal), नि-षिध् , नि-रुध् etc. constitute a semantic class as all these express the sense of 'warding off.' Panini chooses to designate this class after this semantic feature as वारणार्थ 'having the sense of warding off.'

On the other hand, nominal stems co-occurring with them

50

e.g. माष, यव, अग्नि, कूप etc. are semantically a motley lot. To find out what feature binds them together, if any, let us examine the sentence माषेभ्य: गा: वारयति कृषक: a little more closely.

 'Warding off' cows from beans obviously implies that the farmer regards beans as something 'worth being saved'. The cows are likely to damage these. It may, thus, be claimed that all such stems which denote 'things' that are considered 'worthwhile' constitute a group when these are related syntactically with verb stems indicating 'warding off'. Panini uses the expression ईप्सित meaning literally 'desired to be obtained' to denote this class of stems.

Now to account for co-occurrence of verb stems meaning 'warding off'; with nominal stems things denoted by which are considered 'desired' and designating of अपादान relation by them, Panini may formulate a statement as follows.

कारके वारणार्थानाम् ईप्सित: अपादानम् । (1427).

It may be translated as follows.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting entities considered worthwhile, are अपादान when co-occurring with verb class meaning 'warding off.'

(v) Now examine co-occurrence of nominal and verb stem pairs holding अपादान relation occurring in the following sentences.

> उपाध्यायाद् अन्तर्धत्ते माणवक: ।
> 'The student hides himself from the teacher.'
> दस्युभ्यस् तिरोभवति पथिक: ।
> 'The wayfarer disappears from the sight of robbers.'

मातुः निलीयते शिशुः ।
'The child hides himself from his mother.'
राजपुरुषाद् अपह्नुते चौरः ।
'The thief hides himself from the policeman.'

The verb stems अन्तर्धा, तिरोभू , नि-ली, अपह्नु etc. express the meaning 'hide oneself'. These, thus, constitute a semantic class. Panini uses the nominal stem अन्तर्धि 'hiding oneself', to designate this class.

On the other hand, nominal stems उपाध्याय, दस्यु , मातृ etc. co-occurring with verb stems also constitute a group marked by a common role these play in relation to the act of 'hiding'. These stems denote 'entities (here all human beings) by whom one does not like to be seen'. To designate this class Panini makes use of the phrase येनादर्शनमिच्छति, 'that by whom one does not want to be noticed.'

To explicate co-occurrence of verb stems meaning 'hiding oneself' with nominal stems denoting entities by which one does not like to be seen and designating of अपादान relation by them, Panini formulates the following statement.

अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनम् इच्छति (तत्) अपादानम् ।

It may be rendered as under.

'On being कारक, nominal stems which indicate entities by whom one does not want to be seen, are अपादान when connected with verb stems denoting 'hiding oneself.'

(vi) Consider now co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs holding अपादान relation as illustrated in the following sentences.

52

ब्रह्मघ्न: कृच्छ्रम् द्वादशरात्रम् चरित्वा पुनर् उपयुञ्जीत वेदम् आचार्यात् ।

(वसिष्ठ स्मृति 20.13)

'Having performed the कृच्छ penance for full twelve days, the killer of a Brahmin should study the Veda again from his teacher.'

उपाध्यायाद् व्याकरणम् अधीते ।

'He studies grammar from his teacher.'

कस्मात् त्वम् एतत् शास्त्रम् अध्यैथा: ।

'Whom did you learn this treatise from?'

अहम् तीर्थाद् अभिनय-विद्याम् अशिक्षे (शिशिक्षे) ।

'I received instructions in dramatics from an expert.'

यास्काद् अवगमयति वेदम् ।

'He studies the Veda from Yāska.'

पुरा आचार्यात् शास्त्राणि उपयुञ्जते स्म ।

'In ancient times people studied scriptures from a teacher.'

The verb stems उपयुज्, अधि-ई, शिक्ष्, अवगम् (causal) etc. form a semantic class as all denote the sense 'study, receive instructions.' Panini designates this class by the expression उप योग 'studying, learning'.

Nominal stems आचार्य, उपाध्याय, यास्क, किम् , तीर्थ etc. also constitute a group in as much as these denote entities that play the role of 'teacher' vis-à-vis the class of verb stems co-occurring with them.

To explain co-occurrence of verb stems meaning 'to study' with nominal stems that denote entities that play the role of 'teacher' and designating of अपादान by them, Panini formulates the following statement.

कारके आख्यातोपयोगे अपादानम् । (1429).

It may be rendered as below.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting entities that play the role of teacher when co-occurring with class of verb stems denoting 'studying', are अपादान.'

(vii) Examine nominal and verb stem pairs holding अपादान relation as occurring in the following sentences.

> शृङ्गात् शर: जायते ।
> 'The arrow comes out of horn'.
> गोलोमाविलोमभ्यो दूर्वा जायन्ते ।
> 'The दूर्वा grass grows out of the hairs of a cow and those of sheep'
> अन्नाद् वै प्रजा: प्रजायन्ते ।
> 'From food indeed are born the creatures'.
> पुत्रात् प्रमोदो जायते ।
> 'From son is born happiness'.
> यथा सत: पुरुषात् केशलोमानि तथाऽक्षरात् संभवतीह विश्वम् ।
> 'As from the living man grow hairs (on the head and body) so out of the immutable is the universe born here'
> कामात् क्रोधो अभिजायते ।
> 'From lust arises anger'
> क्रोधात् भवति सम्मोह: ।
> 'From anger arises delusion'

The verb stems that occur here are जन् , प्रजन् , अभिजन् , संभू , भू etc. All these express the sense of 'be born'. These, thus, constitutes a semantic group.

Nominal stems शृङ्ग, गोमय, अन्न, काम, क्रोध etc. co-occurring with them are a miscellaneous lot. These do not seem to share

54

any common feature, semantic or otherwise, in terms of which their co-occurrence could be described.

Semantic interpretation of these utterances leads Panini to postulate that these stems denote 'stuff' physical or nonphysical, which is source of objects denoted by another set of nominal stems viz. शर, वृश्चिक, प्रजा, सम्मोह etc. which form integral part of these utterances.

This postulation, however, does not take us far. In turn these stems also constitute a motley lot. There is no short way to subsume these under one group of any sort. To make any worthwhile structural statement these have to be strung into a group. But nothing seems in sight that could bind these into a group.

At structural level Panini discerns something which all these stems do share. All of them are कर्तृ of verb stems that co-occur with शुङ्घ etc. and characterized by us in terms of a semantic feature above.

We find ourselves in an internet of relationships, verb class denoted by जन् 'be born' hold अपादान relation with शुङ्घ etc. and कर्तृ relation with शर etc. and शुङ्घ and शर etc. are related as <u>material</u> and <u>product</u> therefrom.

Panini's immediate concern is to explicate co-occurrence of verb stems जन् etc. with nominal stems शुङ्घ etc. which denote अपादान relation as illustrated in the utterances examined by us above.

His way lies through labyrinth of interrelationships, structural as well as pragmatic. He has to say that verb stems जन् etc. (a semantic class) co-occurs with शुङ्घ etc. which play the role of 'stuff' from which are born शर etc. identified structurally

55

as कर्तृ of जन् class.

Accordingly he comes out with the following statement.

कारके जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः अपादानम् । (1430).

Here जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः is a nominal phrase in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति singular. It stands for nominal stems that co-occur with जन् class of verb stems and denote अपादान relation.

The verb stem class i.e. जन् etc. is <u>not</u> mentioned separately. In structural statements, expressions denoting verb classes occur either in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति or in the 6ᵗʰ. It is in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति usually if denoted by a single item e.g. अपाये, उपयोगे, अन्तर्धौ etc. Here it is implied by the expression जनि being part of the expression जनिकर्तुः.

His statement may be interpreted as under.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting entities that are considered primary substance of (some other) entities that are indicated by nominal stems that occur as कर्तृ , agent, of verb stems meaning 'be born', are अपादान when co-occurring with class of verb stems denoting the meaning 'be born'.

(viii) Now consider nominal and verb stems denoting अपादान कारक as illustrated in the following sentences.

हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति ।
'The Ganges emerges from the Himalayas'.
कश्मीरेभ्यः वितस्ता प्रभवति ।
'From Kashmir emerges Vitasta'.
धर्माद् अर्थः प्रभवति ।

'From dharma issues forth prosperity.'

सङ्गाद् अशेषा: प्रभवन्ति दोषा: ।

'From bad company spring up evils of all sorts'.

The only verb stem attested here is भू preceded by the उपसर्ग प्र. It means 'to appear for the first time'. It constitutes a class by itself.

Co-occurring nominal stems हिमवत् , कश्मीर, धर्म, सङ्ग denoting अपादान कारक are a miscellaneous lot. There is no feature, semantic or otherwise, that may characterize them as a group.

Panini looks upon nominal stems हिमवत् etc. as denoting 'things' which are 'source' of entities denoted by nominal stems that are कर्तृ of the co-occurring verb stem भू (with प्र). Then he works a network of interrelationships among various co-occurring nominal and verb stems.

हिमवत् etc. and गङ्गा etc. co-occurring with भू (with प्र) denote अपादान and कर्तृ respectively. हिमवत् etc. and गङ्गा, etc. on the other hand, are related among themselves as denoting 'entities' which play the roles of 'source' and 'what emerges from that' respectively.

Thus Panini is able to characterize हिमवत् etc. as a distinct group of nominal stems co-occurring with the lone verb stem भू (with प्र).

Now he comes out with the following statement describing their co-occurrence and designating of अपादान कारक by co-occurring nominal stems.

कारके भुव: कर्तु: प्रभव: अपादानम् ।

Here the phrase भुव: कर्तु: प्रभव: identifies co-occurring nominal

stems entities denoted by which serve as 'source' of the entities denoted by nominal stems that are कर्तृ of भू (with प्र).

The co-occurring verb stem भू (with प्र) is implied in the statement by its mention in the phrase भुव: कर्तु: प्रभव:. Hence there is no separate mention. This is Panini's way of exercising economy in statements. Now the statement may be rendered as follows.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting entities that are source of entities indicated by stems acting as कर्तृ of the root भू (with प्र), are अपादान (when co-occurring with भू (with प्र). 'to appear for the first time'.)

Patanjali's interpretation:

Patanjali's comments imply that ध्रुव, the fixed point in relation to act of moving away denotes अपादान provided it is instrumental in bringing about an action (कारके).

Patanjali does recognize that groups of nominal stems described by Panini in terms of ध्रुव etc. being कारक, designate अपादान when connected (co-occurring) with verb stems described in terms of अपाय etc.

However, he regards formulation of statements other than (1424) in this connection as superfluous and absolutely uncalled for since all other sets of co-occurring nominal and verb stems are covered by ध्रुव and अपाय. He repeats his observation with every सूत्र he has commented on that अयं योग: शक्यो ड्वक्तुम् , this rule can be dispensed with since कारके ध्रुवम् अपाये ऽपादानम् is applicable there (तत्र ध्रुवम् अपाये ऽपादानम् इत्येव सिद्धम्) .

His interpretation of other सूत्र is farfetched and totally unconvincing. For instance, co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs denoted by भयहेतु-भीत्रार्थानाम् (1425), आख्याता-उपयोग (1429) जनिकर्तुः प्रकृति-जन् (1430) etc. can in no way be subsumed under ध्रुव-अपाय by any stretch of imagination or subtle logical or philosophical argumentation. Panini's formulation of these statements rests on hard linguistic facts arrived at through scrupulous analysis of data. We do not see any rationale behind Patanjali's sweeping and all embracing observations.

2. सम्प्रदान कारक

In the constructions given below nominal stems in the underlined forms hold कारक relation with co-occurring verb stems. The 4th विभक्ति after these denotes a specific कारक variety which is called सम्प्रदान by Panini.

> गृहस्थः <u>याचकाय</u> कम्बलम् ददाति ।
> उष्णम् अन्नम् <u>द्विजातिभ्यः</u> श्रद्धया विनिवेदयेत् । (शंखस्मृति 14.12).
> <u>शिशवे</u> मोदकाः रोचन्ते ।
> 'Sweet balls appeal to the child.'
> <u>वानरेभ्यः</u> मधु स्वदते ।
> 'Honey tastes well to monkeys.'
> सख्या <u>सख्ये</u> श्लाघते ।
> वन्दिनः <u>नृपाय</u> श्लाघन्ते ।
> यत् सो अपि एतानि चौरेभ्यः अभिरक्षेत् इति <u>पुत्राय</u> अपह्नुते आभरणानि पिता ।
> 'Father conceals the jewelry in the knowledge of his son so that he may also protect it from the thieves.'
> वृकेभ्यः त्रायते सो अपि इति <u>स्वामिने</u> अपह्नुते गुल्मेषु अजाः अजापालः ।
> 'The shepherd hides the goats in the thickets in the knowledge of his master so that he may also protect

59

them from the wolves.'

अभिसारिका सन्निहिते कुञ्जे चिरम् <u>कान्ताय</u> तिष्ठते ।

रुद्र: <u>दक्षाय</u> शशाप ।

त्वं <u>मह्यां</u> द्वे वृक्षसेचने धारयसि ।

दुर्ललिताय <u>अस्मै</u> स्पृहयामि अहम् ।

किम् अर्थम् त्वम् निष्कारणम् <u>सतीर्थाय</u> असूयते ?

पृष्ट: सन् गर्ग: <u>देवदत्ताय</u> राध्यति ।

मौहूर्तिक: <u>देवदत्ताय</u> ईक्षते ।

प्रार्थित: नृप: <u>विप्राय</u> गाम् आशृणोति/प्रतिशृणोति ।

अध्वर्यु: <u>होत्रे</u> अनुगृणाति/प्रतिगृणाति ।

संवत्सरं <u>शताय</u> कञ्चित् कर्मकारं परिक्रेष्यामि ।

'I shall hire some labor for a hundred for a year.'

Going over some more discourses, Panini may gather an indefinite number of such pairs demonstrating सम्प्रदान relationship. He sorts these into sets reflecting freedom of co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in a set. Nominal stems in a set designate सम्प्रदान कारक.

We shall discuss below how Panini comes to identify respective groups of nominal and verb stems in a set and how he formulates statements to describe these.

(i) Take co-occurring pairs holding सम्प्रदान relation illustrated in the following constructions and see how Panini proceeds to organize these into a set.

> प्राप्य चापि महद् राज्यं तद् अहं मधुसूदन !
> स्फीतं दुर्योधनायैव सम्प्रदद्याम् अरिन्दम ! (महा. 5.139.22)
> 'O Madhusudana, killer of demon Madhu, even if I
> obtain a large prosperous kingdom, I shall give that
> over simply to Duryodhan.'

भीतं प्रपन्नं ददाति शत्रवे यो वै ।

न तस्य हव्यं प्रतिगृह्णन्ति देवा: । (महा. 5.12.20)

'Gods do not accept oblation offered by him who hands over to the enemy one who is panicked and has sought shelter with him.'

भृत्येभ्यो विसृजेद् अर्थान् नैक: सर्वहरो भवेत् (महा. 4.42.12)

'(The king) should dole out wealth to his servants. Let him not grab it all to himself.'

एवं वसन्तं यद् उपप्नुवेद् धनम् ।

आचार्याय तद् अनुप्रयच्छेत् । (महा. 5.44.17)

'Whatever riches come to him in surplus while living (leading) his life thus, he should give them over to his teacher.'

ब्रह्म ह वै प्रजा: मृत्यवे सम्प्रयच्छत् ।

ब्रह्मचारिणमेव न प्रददौ । तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिणे अहरहर् भिक्षां दद्याद् गृहिणी ।

(गोपथब्राह्मण, पूर्व 1.31)

'Brahman gave over creatures to God of death but not the ब्रह्मचारिन्. Therefore the housewife should give alms to ब्रह्मचारिन् day after day.'

अशक्तौ (तद् अन्नम्) भूमौ निखनेत् , अप्सु वा प्रवेशयेत् ,

अर्याय वा पर्यवदध्यात् अनर्धिने वा शूद्राय । (आप 1.3.38-41)

"If unable, he should bury (that food) in the ground, throw it in the waters, give over to the noble person or to a shudra who is a slave.'

पर्यवदध्यात्=परि-अव-धा, अन्तर्धिन् 'one who keeps aloof (being outcast)

प्रमादाद् अरण्ये पशून् उत्सृष्टान् दृष्ट्वा ग्रामम् आनीय स्वामिभ्यो अवसृजेत् ।

(आपस्तम्ब 12.11.28.8)

"Finding that cattle has strayed out in forest through negligence, one should bring these back to the village and give these to the owners."

आचान्तोदकाय गां वेदयन्ते । (आश्वलायन गृह्य. 1.24.30)

"A cow is given to one who has sipped water."

नृपतिः जनपदस्य पश्चिमायां दिशि शूद्रेभ्यः आवासभूमिं रक्षेत् ।   (कौ)

"The king should reserve residential land for the shudras in the western quarters of the town."

तुभ्यं प्राण ! प्रजास् त्विमा बलिं हरन्ति । (प्रश्न 2.7)

"O Prana! Indeed these creatures bring offering to you."

चतुर्विधेभ्यो भूतेभ्यो बलिं पश्चाद् विनिक्षिपेत् । (वृद्धहारीत 8.10)

"Later he should offer oblation to creatures of four types."

सुवासितं पानकं च नृसिंहाय समर्पयेत् । (वृद्धहारीत 8.3.65)

"He should offer to 'Nrisimha' well scented drink."

अहम् दधामि द्रविणम् हविष्मते । (ऋग् 10.125.2)

"I bestow riches to him who offers oblations."

न स सखा यो न ददाति सख्ये । (ऋग् 10.117.4)

"He is no friend who does not give to a friend."

ते देवा एतम् ओदनम् अपश्यंस् तं प्रजापतये भागम् अनुनिरवपन् ...

(गोपथ उत्तर 1.7)

"Those gods saw that rice. They allotted that to Prjapati as his portion (share)".

स एतम् ओदनम् अभक्तम् अपश्यत् तम् आत्मने भागम् निरवपत्

(गोपथ, उत्तर 3.1.7)

"He saw it un-allotted. He allotted it to himself as his share".

तस्मै तत् प्रदिशेद् धनम् ।   (कौ 3.6.24)

"He should give that wealth to him".

ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चात्मानम् अतिसृजेत् ।   (कौ 10.3.37)

"He should surrender himself to the Brahmins".

वृत्तिं विप्रायातिसृजेत् तस्मै ।   (महा. 6.8.20)

"One should provide such a Brahmin with livelihood".

पुष्पोपगं वाथ फलोपगं वा, य पादपं स्पर्शयते द्विजाय ।

स स्त्रीस्मृद्धं बहुरत्नपूर्णम्, लभत्ययत्नोपगतं गृहं वै ॥   (महा. 13.57.36)

"He gets effortlessly (on its own accord) a residence prosperous with wife and full of riches who gives to a Brahmin a tree laden with flowers or fruit".

अथ यत् गृहाभ्यो देवताभ्यो अन्नं सम्प्रकिरन्ति तद् बलिहरणम् ।

(बौधायन गृह्यसूत्र 1.1.10)

"The food that (the house holders) offer to domestic gods is offering of oblation".

Nominal and verb stem pairs denoting सम्प्रदान relation, illustrated in the above constructions, are of the type दुर्योधन-सम्प्रदा, भृत्य-विसृज्, आचार्य-अनुप्रदा, अर्थ-परि-अव-धा, आचान्तोदक-वेदय (casual), शूद्र-रक्ष् , युष्मद्-ह, तद्-प्रदिश् , द्विज्-स्पर्शय (casual), देवता-सम्प्रकृ etc.

Each pair is unique in its constituency.   No generalized statement describing their co-occurrence is possible unless nominal and verb stems are subsumed under respective groups.

With verb stems Panini has no problem. These constitute a semantic group as all stems are characterized by the feature 'giving, offering, presenting, etc'.

Nominal stems are an odd lot semantically. These do not seem to share feature of any other sort also.

Semantic interpretation of these constructions indicates that कर्तृ (of co-occurring verb stems) intends (targets) 'entities' denoted by these nominal stems as recipient of 'things' denoted by nominal stems ending in the 2nd विभक्ति holding कर्मन् relation (with the same verb stems).

Thus through a combination of structural and pragmatic

63

relationships Panini is able to bring idiosyncratic odd lots of nominal stems under one group. As 'recipient', these form a distinct group.

Panini is now in a position to formulate a generalized statement describing co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems as identified in the above constructions, denoting सम्प्रदान कारक and designating of कारक relationship by nominal stems.

His statement reads as follows.

<div align="center">कारके कर्मणा यम् अभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् (1432).</div>

We may proceed to interpret it.

The statement, it may be pointed out, conforms to the general pattern of कारक statements. The phrase कर्मणा यम् अभिप्रैति स: occurring in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति describes class of nominal stems. It may be interpreted as follows.

> "That nominal stem (स:) 'entity' denoted by which (यम्), the कर्तृ of co-occurring verb stem intends (targets) as recipient (अभिप्रैति) by means of 'thing' denoted by stem holding कर्मन् relation (with the same co-occurring verb stem) (कर्मणा)".

The expression denoting verb stem class, however, is not mentioned here explicitly. Reading between the lines, it may be inferred that the intended class of co-occurring verb stems is one that denotes the act of 'giving, offering etc.' (The illustrative examples of constructions given above make it clear).

In the interest of economy of formulation of his statement Panini eschews its explicit mention. He takes advantage of

<div align="center">64</div>

the expression सम्प्रदानम् which has to form part of the statement in any case as a technical term denoting the name of the particular कारक variety being described here. The expression सम्प्रदान, thus, has to be reemployed here. It is transformed into the 7th विभक्ति as सम्प्रदाने and is related syntactically with the phrase कर्मणा यम् अभिप्रैति स:, in the 1st विभक्ति , denoting nominal stems. It is, thus, rendered as 'in construction with verb stems denoting 'giving' or 'giving completely."

The full statement may now be interpreted as follows.

> "On being कारक (कारके), that nominal stem (स:) entity denoted by which (यम्), the कर्तृ (of co-occurring verb stem) intends (targets) as recipient (अभिप्रैति) by means of 'thing' denoted by stems holding कर्मन् relation (with the same co-occurring verb stem) (कर्मणा), designates सम्प्रदान (सम्प्रदानम्) (when in construction with verb stems meaning 'giving' or 'giving completely (सम्प्रदाने)".

(ii) Next we consider another group of pairs denoting सम्प्रदान कारक illustrated in the following constructions and see how Panini organizes these into a set.

> यद् यद् रोचेत विप्रेभ्यस् तत् तद् दद्याद् अमत्सर: ।   (मनु. 3.231)
> "Whatever is likeable to the Brahmins the householder, free from any motivation of selfishness, should serve that."
> न मे रोचते संग्रामो हैडिम्बेन राक्षसा ।   (महा. 6.60.67)
> "A battle with the son of Hidimba, the demon, does not appeal to me."

65

येषु सम्प्रतिष्ठेयु: कुरव: पीडिता: परै: ।

ते युद्धम् नाभिनन्दन्ति तत् तुभ्यं तात ! रोचताम् ।   (महा. 5,57.8)

"The Kaurvas pressed by others will approach them (वाह्लीक, भीष्म and others) together in a body. They do not approve of the battle. My dear son! Let that appeal to you also."

शमो मे रोचते नित्यम् पार्थैस् तात ! न विग्रह: ।

कुरुभ्यो हि सदा मन्ये पाण्डवान् शक्तिमत्तरान् ।   (महा. 5.59.23)

"My child! It is peace and not battle that always appeals to me with the sons of 'Pritha'. I always regard the sons of 'Pandu' mightier than Kurus."

यथा च रोचते तुभ्यम् तथा कर्तास्मि अहं मुने !

(महा. 13.102.28)

"O sage! I shall do in the manner that pleases you."

न ता: कथा: रोचन्ते अस्मभ्यम् ।

स्वदन्ते अपूपा अतिथिभ्य: ।

"The cakes taste well to the guests."

स्वदते मधु वानरेभ्य: ।

"Monkeys relish honey."

गीतानि स्वदन्ते लोकेभ्य: ।

"Songs delight people."

अद्यापि दुर्निवारं स्तुति: कन्या वहति कौमारम् ।

सद्भ्यो न रोचते सा असन्तो अप्यस्यै न रोचन्ते ।

"Even to this day, Praise, the maiden, wears her maidenhood, hard to be avoided, since she does not have any appeal to the noble and the ignoble have no appeal to her."

कर्णेन बधिराय अपि कञ्चित् रोचते संगीतम् ।

Co-occurring pairs here are of the type विप्र-रुच् : अस्मद्-रुच् : अतिथि-स्वद् : वानर-स्वद् etc.

We notice verb stems here are limited to a small variety-all synonymous with the root रुच् 'appeal to, delight'. These are subsumed by Panini under the expression रुच्यर्थ- 'having the sense of रुच् '.

Nominal stems co-occurring with these, though diverse semantically denote 'entities' that 'are being pleased, delighted'. These constitute a group and are subsumed under the expression प्रीयमाण, derived from the verbal root प्री (क्री- class) by adding आन to the passive stem, 'one being pleased.'

Panini, thus, manages to organize co-occurring nominal and verb stems into a set denoted respectively by प्रीयमाण and रुच्यर्थ-.

His structural statement describing their co-occurrence and designating of सम्प्रदान relation between them by nominal stems reads as follows.

कारके रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाण: सम्प्रदानम् । (1433)

It may be interpreted as under:

> "On being कारक, nominal stems, denoting entities that are being pleased, delighted, in construction with verb stems denoting meanings of रुच् 'appeal to, delight' express सम्प्रदान."

(iii) Here is another group of pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs denoting सम्प्रदान. Let us find out how Panini organizes these into a set.

(a)   ब्राह्मणा: राजद्वारि नृपाय श्लाघन्ते ।
      "The Brahmins sing praises of the king within his

67

knowledge at the royal gate."

भिक्षुका: रथ्यासु उच्चै: गृहस्थेभ्य: श्लाघन्ते ।

"Wishing them to hear it the mendicants eulogize loudly the households in the street."

(b)　पुत्राय अपह्नुते धनं वणिक् ।

"The merchant hides his wealth within the knowledge of his son."

कृष्णाय अपह्नुते गोपी ।

"The milkmaid hides to let Krishna know that she does it."

(c)　तापसाय तिष्ठते अप्सरा: ।

"The nymph stands for the ascetic expressing her love for him by standing there."

कृष्णाय तिष्ठते गोपी ।

"The milkmaid stands for Krishna expressing her love by standing there."

(d)　दक्षाय शेपे रुद्र: ।

"Rudra cursed Daksha within his knowledge."

प्रियायै शपते कामुक: ।

"The lover swears to his beloved within her knowledge."

अनृतं नोक्तपूर्वं मे न च वक्ष्ये कदाचन,

कृच्छ्रेष्वपि गत: सौम्य क्षत्रधर्मेण ते शपे ।

"I have never spoken untruth before nor shall I speak even if reduced to misery. O noble one! I swear to you by the duties of a warrior."

भरतेनात्मना चाहं शपे ते मनुजाधिप !

यथा नान्येन तुष्येयम् ऋते रामविवासनात् ।　　　(रा. 2.12.49)

"O Lord of people! I swear to you by Bharata and myself, I shall not be satisfied by aught other than Rama's banishment to forest."

करिष्यामि तव प्रीतिं सुकृतेनापि ते शपे ।   (रा.   2.10.36)

> (Dasharath to Kaikeyi) "I'll do what you want. I swear to you by my good fortune".

We are dealing here with pairs involving four different verb stems, namely श्लाघ् , हु (with अप्); स्था and शप् illustrated respectively in (a), (b), (c) and (d) above. Semantically these verb stems are entirely discrete entities. The question of bringing these under one group does not arise.

Nominal stems, co-occurring with them, e.g. नृप, गृहस्थ, पुत्र, कृष्ण, दक्ष, प्रिया etc. are equally disparate entities sharing no feature in common. These also remain individual items.

Semantic interpretation of these constructions, however, reveals that nominal stems share some pragmatic feature. What is that? To understand this let us review the construction ब्राह्मणा: राजद्वारि नृपाय श्लाघन्ते.

The Brahmins are not engaged in the simple act of singing panegyrics of the king as a matter of ritual. They wish the king to be informed of their showering praises on him so that they get awarded.

All nominal stems co-occurring with these verb stems denote 'entities' that are intended to be informed of the act of praising etc. denoted by respective co-occurring verb stems. For this shared pragmatic feature all nominal stems may be subsumed under one group. Panini uses the expression ज्ञीप्स्य मान 'one being desired to be informed' to denote group of nominal stems.

Bringing the co-occurring nominal stems under one group does not take us too far. The verb stems co-occurring with them remain nonetheless discrete entities. To describe their

co-occurrence we need four separate statements. True, nominal stems in each statement will be represented by the same linguistic expression, namely ज्ञीप्स्यमान. Thus we end up with four statements of the pattern

कारके श्लाघे ज्ञीप्स्यमान: सम्प्रदानम् ।

In the interest of economy in statement Panini collapses these four statements. In the fused statement he simply puts verb stems together in a द्वन्द्व compound form. For all practical purposes these remain four statements. His composite statement reads as follows.

कारके श्लाघ-ह्नुङ्-स्था-शपां ज्ञीप्स्यमान: सम्प्रदानम् । (1434)

It may be rendered as below.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting entities that are intended to be informed (of the act of praising etc.) (ज्ञीप्स्यमान), designate सम्प्रदान when co-occurring with verb stems श्लाघ 'praise'; ह्नु 'hide', स्था 'to stand to express one's desire by the act of standing' and शप् 'curse, swear'.

(iv) Consider now co-occurring pairs holding सम्प्रदान कारक relation in the following constructions.

देवदत्ताय शतं धारयामि अहम् ।
'I owe a hundred to Devadatta'
पितृभ्यो यद् ऋणम् धारयामस् तद् पितृणम् ।
'The debt we owe to our forefathers is what is पितृण-
'debt to forefathers.'
मानवा: विश्वेभ्य: एव देवेभ्य: महद् ऋणं धारयन्ति ।
'People owe a great debt to all the gods.'

70

भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरि: ।

'Lord Vishnu owes liberation to the devotee.'

स मा जिह्यं विदुर सर्वं ब्रवीषि,

मानं च ते अहम् अधिकं धारयामि ।

यथेच्छकं गच्छ वा तिष्ठ वा त्वम् ,

सुसान्त्वयमानाप्य सतीस्त्री जहाति ।   (महा. 3.5.19)

(धृतराष्ट्र says) 'O Vidura (such as you are)! All that you speak is falsehood. However, I hold great regard for you. Now you may leave or stay as you please. An unfaithful woman, though appeased mightily, yet quits.'

Identification of co-occurring verb stems in these constructions poses no problem. There occurs the lone stem धारय 'owe', causal from the stem धृ (भ्वादि, उभयपदी) 'hold'. It constitutes a group by itself.

Co-occurring nominal stems are a heterogeneous class. However, all of these denote 'entities' that play the role of 'creditor' literally or figuratively, vis-à-vis the act of 'owing'. Thus these may be put together in a group. Panini uses the expression उत्तमर्ण- 'a creditor' to designate this group.

Now Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems subsumed under उत्तमर्ण and verb stems धारय and designating of सम्प्रदान relation by nominal stems is accordingly formulated as follows.

कारके धारेर् उत्तमर्ण: सम्प्रदानम् । (1435)

It may be interpreted as under.

'On being कारक, nominal stems standing for entities that denote 'creditor', express सम्प्रदान when in construction with the verb stem धारय 'owe.'

71

(v) Take another group of co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs holding सम्प्रदान relation.

> सर्वे कुरुभ्य: स्पृह्यन्ति सञ्जय !
> धनुर्धरा ये पृथिव्यां युवान: ।   (महा. 5.23.12)
> 'All the archers that are young in this world envy Kaurvas, O Sanjaya!'
> यदि दृश्येत सा साध्वी यदि चेह वसेमहि,
> स्पृहयेयं न शक्राय नायोध्यायै रघूत्तम !   (रा. 4.1.96)
> '(Rama): If that noble lady (Sita) shows up and even if we continue to live here, I shall entertain no desire either for Indra (i.e. Indra's place) or Ayodhya; O best of the Raghus!"
> उपस्पृशंस् त्रिषवणं मधुमूलफलाशन:,
> नायोध्यायै न राज्याय स्पृहये अद्य त्वया सह ।   (रा. 2.95.17)
> '(Rama to Sita): Bathing thrice a day and feeding on honey, roots, and fruits living with you these days, I desire neither Ayodhya nor the kingdom."

Here the lone verb stem स्पृह् 'yearn for' co-occurs with nominal stems of various hues, denoting सम्प्रदान.

Nominal stems may be brought under one group since all of them denote entities 'that are desired'. Panini uses the expression ईप्सित 'desired' to designate this group.

Statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems subsumed under ईप्सित and the lone verb stem स्पृह् and designating of सम्प्रदान relation by nominal stem is accordingly formulated by Panini as follows.

> कारके स्पृहेर् ईप्सित: सम्प्रदानम् ।   (1436)

It may be rendered as under.

72

'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting things as 'desired' express सम्प्रदान when co-occurring with स्पृह् 'yearn for.'

(vi) Consider now co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs denoting सम्प्रदान कारक as illustrated in the following constructions.

(a)   मा नः क्रुधः पशुपते ।   (अथर्व. 11.2.19-20)
'Please, do not get angry with us, O Lord of creatures!" (Cited by Charudeva Shastri)
कथं त्वम् अकारणम् आत्मन एव हितवादिने क्रुध्यसि ?
'How is it that for no reason you feel angry against one who is your well-wisher.'
कदाचिद् हरिर् अपि भक्तेभ्य रुष्येत ।
'Maybe even Vishnu gets displeased with his devotees.'
चिरम् उपेक्षितः शिशुः मात्रे रोषयति
'A child neglected for long, gets angry with his mother.'
किम् अस्मभ्यं जातवेदो हणीषे ।   (ऋग् . 7.104.14)
'Why are you angry with us, O, Fire!'
         (cited by Charudeva Shastri)

(b)   तं मन्येत पितरं मातरं च, तस्मै न द्रुह्येत् कृतम् अस्य जानन् ।
                                         (महा. 5.44.7)
'The student should consider him (the teacher) as his father and mother. Knowing his doing to him, he should never hurt him.'
सौमानुशोचे तम् अधः पतन्तम् , भ्रात्रे परेताय विदुद्रुहे यः ।
                                         (भागवत 3.1.41)
'Dear! I grieve him who stooping too low goes

73

against his brother who has been dead.'

तस्मै भवान् द्रुह्यति विश्वबन्धवे ।   (भागवत 4.4.15)

'You envy him who is the friend of all.'

तस्मै (आचार्याय) न द्रुह्येत् कदाचन ।   (आपस्तम्ब. 1.1.15)

(c)   दरिद्रो अपि सन् स न आत्मनः धनिने प्रतिवेशिने ईर्ष्यति ।

'Though poor, he does not feel jealous of his rich neighbor.'

यस्मा ईर्ष्यसीदुत्वेर्या ।   (ऋग् . 10.86.3)

'O Lord! Of whom you are jealous.'
        (Cited by Charudeva Shastri)

(d)   न कस्मैचिद् असूयते इति अनसूया सा ।

'She is अनसूया as she does not find fault with anyone.'

कथम् अनागसे तस्मै असूये अहम् ? मित्रभावेन एव तं
प्रति आचरामि ।

आमन्त्रयामास सः - भो, गोतमस्य पुत्र इति, इति ह
अस्मा असूयात् ।   (गोपथ पूर्व 3.6)

'He said, 'O son of Gotama! You may find fault with this (pointing to himself).' (असूयात् is लेट्).

In the above constructions four verb stems viz. क्रुध् 'feel annoyed'; द्रुह् 'harm, injure'; ईर्ष्य 'be jealous' and असूय 'find fault' and their synonyms are found to occur.

These verb stems may fall into the same semantic field and express one or the other psychological feelings. There is, however, no semantic feature which may run through all of them. Thus these cannot constitute one group. These remain as four separate entities.

Nominal stems co-occurring with these and denoting सम्प्रदान relation such as अस्मद्, भक्त, मातृ, भ्रातृ etc. are apparently a heterogeneous lot.

Semantic interpretation, however, implies that 'entities' denoted by these are 'target of a feeling of resentment' by कर्तृ of verbal stems क्रुध् etc. Thus there is a (pragmatic) basis to bring these stems under one group.   Panini uses the phrase यं प्रति कोपः to denote it.

Still the way to formulating a statement describing their co-occurrence and designating of सम्प्रदान कारक by nominal stems, is not clear. Verb stems as four disparate units stand in the way of forming a unified statement. Thus four different, though partially, similar statements have to be made on the following pattern.

कारके क्रुधार्थानां यं प्रतिकोप: सम्प्रदानम् ।

Taking advantage of the recurring element यं प्रति कोप: Panini collapses the four statements together. Verb stems come to form a compound क्रुध-द्रुहेष्यासूयार्थ-.   His composite statement reads as follows.

कारके क्रुधद्रुहेष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोप: सम्प्रदानम् । (1437)

It may be rendered as follows.

> 'On being कारक, nominal stems that denote 'entities' against whom feeling of resentment is directed, denote सम्प्रदान when in construction with verb stems क्रुध् 'feel annoyed', द्रुह् 'injure, harm'; ईर्ष्य 'be jealous, intolerant' and असूय 'find fault with, detract' and their synonyms.

We may note that for purposes of interpretation and application the above statement is an assemblage of four statements.

75

(vii) Consider another group of co-occurring pairs denoting सम्प्रदान कारक as illustrated in the following constructions.

> देवदत्ताय राध्यति गर्गः ।
> देवदत्ताय ईक्षते गर्गः ।
> कुमाराय राध्यति/ईक्षते गणकः ।
> पित्रे राध्यति/ईक्षते दैवज्ञः ।
> देव्यै राध्यति/ईक्षते दैवज्ञः ।
> सेनापतये राध्यति/ईक्षते ज्योतिषिकः ।
> गोपाय राध्यति/ईक्षते ज्योतिःशास्त्रविद् ।

Before we proceed to describe co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems, we may determine how these constructions are interpreted.

The verb stem राध् has various meanings and is used accordingly as transitive (सकर्मक) or intransitive (अकर्मक). In the present context it is used intransitively in the sense 'to deliberate over questions put to an astrologer with regard to finding out one's good or bad fate.'

The verb stem ईक्ष् is also used here as intransitive (अकर्मक) to denote 'to observe the stars for anyone i.e. to read one's good or bad fortune.'

The two verb stems in the above constructions are used as synonyms. The constructions देवदत्ताय राध्यति/ईक्षते गर्गः, for instance, is understood to mean, "Garga, an astrologer, deliberates over various questions put to him to foretell Devadatta's good or bad luck."

Co-occurring nominal stems देवदत्त, कुमार, देवी etc. denote 'entities, persons' about whom several questions are put. This feature marks these off as a distinct group. Panini uses the phrase 'यस्य विप्रश्नः' to denote this group. It may be

76

interpreted as "one about whom several questions are asked."

Now Panini has the essential structural information to formulate a statement to describe their co-occurrence and designating सम्प्रदान कारक relation by nominal stems.

His statement reads as follows.

कारके राधीक्ष्योर् यस्य विप्रश्न: सम्प्रदानम् । (1439)

It may be rendered as under.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'entities, persons' about whom several questions are put by an astrologer to inquire of their fortune, express सम्प्र दान when co-occurring with the verb stems राध् and ईक्ष् meaning 'prophesy for or foretell to.'"

(viii) Consider another group of co-occurring pairs denoting सम्प्रदान कारक illustrated in the following utterances.

(a)   प्रतिशुश्राव काकुत्स्थस् तेभ्यो विघ्नक्रियाम् । (रघुवंश.15.4)
'Raghava promised them removal of obstructions.'
हास्मै प्रतिश्रुतं प्रतिशुश्राव-अश्व: शम्येतेति । (गोपथ पूर्व 2.17)
'I have indeed promised him the promise that the horse be pacified.'
हरिश्चन्द्रो विश्वामित्राय राज्यं प्रतिशृणोति ।
'Harishchandra   promises   the   kingdom   to Vishvamitra.'
प्रतिश्रुतं च भवता पाञ्चाल्यै शृण्वतो मम ।
आहरिष्ये शिरस्तस्य यस्ते मानिनि पुत्रहा ॥   (भागवत 1.7.38)
"You gave a promise to पाञ्चाली within my hearing that 'I shall bring the head of him who killed your son, O! Woman of great pride'."

77

आगमिष्यामि ते वक्त्रं सत्यं प्रतिशृणोमि ते । (रा. 5.58.27)

हनुमान to सुरसा "I shall come back to your mouth. I promise this indeed to you".

(b)   आशुश्राव अभयं तपस्विभ्य: दाशरथि: ।
'Rama promised fearlessness to ascetics.'
आशृणोति भक्तेभ्य: मोक्षं हरि: ।
'The Lord promises liberation to devotees.'
ब्राह्मणाय गाम् आशृणोति नृप: ।
'The king promises a cow to the Brahmin.'

The only verb stems illustrated here are प्रति-श्रु and आ-श्रु both are synonyms meaning 'promise'. One may be tempted to group these together in a class marked by a common semantic feature. However, that is not true. All verbs meaning 'to promise' do not behave alike syntactically. For instance, in ब्राह्मणं गां प्रतिजानीते नृप:, the nominal stem ब्राह्मण co-occurring with प्रति-ज्ञा 'promise' denotes कर्मन् instead of सम्प्रदान . (cf. सिद्धान्त कौमुदी on 1440). The two verb stems, प्रति-श्रु and आ-श्रु have to be recorded as two distinct entities in a structural statement.

Let us now consider nominal stems co-occurring with these verb stems.

To characterize these as a group since these denote 'entities, persons' to whom something is promised is arguing in a circle. The co-occurring verb stems explicitly express that. Rather we have to seek a feature not related directly to co-occurring verb stems.

Linguistic usage affirms that in general 'promising' something to someone implies a prior 'request' by one to whom something is promised. Thus an utterance like ब्राह्मणाय गां प्रतिशृणो

ति describing king's promising a cow to the Brahman is presumed to be preceded by some such request as भो नृप ! गां मे देहि asking for a cow from the king. Both such utterances are, thus, part of a discourse. It may be visualized as follows.

ब्राह्मणः - भो नृप ! गां मे देहि ।

नृपः   - अस्तु , प्रतिशृणोमि तां तुभ्यम् ।

Or in a simple narrative it may be expressed as follows.

ब्राह्मणः नृपात् गां याचते । स तस्मै तां प्रतिशृणोति ।

Against this background we may note that nominal stems co-occurring with प्रति-श्रु and आ-श्रु denoting सम्प्रदान कारक are exactly the same which occur with a verb denoting 'ask for, request' in a discourse and play the role of कर्तृ .

Thus to identify nominal stems co-occurring with प्रति-श्रु and आ-श्रु and designation by them of सम्प्रदान कारक, we may take into account the wider context of discourse in which these nominal stems are found to participate. We may, thus, maintain that nominal stems co-occurring with प्रति-श्रु and आ-श्रु are the same which denote 'things, entities' that play the role of कर्तृ co-occurring with verb stems meaning 'request, ask for' in the preceding sentence in a discourse

This is precisely how Panini identifies these nominal stems. He uses the phrase पूर्वस्य कर्ता to characterize these stems. The phrase may be interpreted as 'कर्तृ of preceding verb stem' i.e. verb stem occurring in a preceding sentence forming part of a discourse in which both utterances participate.

Accordingly Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems and ascription of designation of सम्प्र

दान to nominal stems reads as follows.

कारके प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुव: पूर्वस्य कर्ता सम्प्रदानम् । (1440)

It may be interpreted as under.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting कर्तृं of a foregone verb (meaning ask for, request, occurring in the preceding sentence in a discourse), designate सम्प्रदान when in construction with verb stem श्रु preceded by प्रति or आ (meaning 'to promise)".

(ix) Now take a look at the co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs holding सम्प्रदान relation as illustrated in the following constructions.

अध्वर्युः होत्रे ऋच: अनुगृणाति ।   अध्वर्युः होत्रे ऋच: प्रतिगृणाति ।

Both the sentences mean the same 'By repeating after him the अध्वर्यु 'priest' encourages होतृ priest who is reciting ऋच्s'.

To understand co-occurrence of होतृ and अनु-गृ or प्रति-गृ 'to encourage by repeating' and designating of सम्प्रदान कारक by होतृ , we have to have the full picture of the context.

The होतृ , one of the priests, recites Vedic ऋच्s- होता ऋच: शंसति. To encourage him अध्वर्यु , another priest, repeats the verses after him- अध्वर्युः होत्रे ऋच: अनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति. This is the sequence in which these two utterances are found to occur.

In this context nominal stems like होतृ co-occurring with अनुगृ or प्रतिगृ comes to denote सम्प्रदान कारक.

How do we manage to identify such nominal stems?

We may notice that होतृ which co-occurs with अनुगृ or प्रतिगृ

occurs as कर्तृ of verb stems like शंस् 'praise' in a preceding utterance in a discourse as illustrated above. These nominal stems like होतृ are identified in terms of their role of कर्तृ in the preceding utterance.

Accordingly Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems like होतृ and verb stems अनुगृ and प्रतिगृ and designating of सम्प्रदान relation by them is formulated as follows.

कारके अनुप्रतिगृणश्च पूर्वस्य कर्ता सम्प्रदानम् । (1441)

It may be rendered as below.

'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting कर्तृ of verb stems occurring in the preceding (utterance in a discourse) designate सम्प्रदान when in construction with verb stem गृ (क्र्यादि class) preceded by the उपसर्ग अनु or प्रति 'encourage by repeating'.

(x) Consider co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs holding सम्प्रदान कारक illustrated in the following constructions.

एतम् कर्मकारं वयम् शताय पर्यक्रीणीम ।
'We have hired this worker for hundred pieces.'
अस्मै द्रव्याय एतान् गाथिकान् परिक्रीणामि ।
'I shall hire these musicians for this amount.'
पुराकाले कृषाणा: अल्पाभ्य: गुडधानाभ्य: श्रमकरान्
प्रतिदिवसम् परिक्रीणन्ति स्म ।
'In earlier days farmers used to hire labor for a day for a small quantity of grains mixed with molasses.'
कतिभ्य: मुद्राभ्य: प्रतिमासम् इदं गेहं परिक्रेष्यसि ?
'For how much money per month are you going to

rent this house?'

कतिभ्य: रूप्यकेभ्य: पर्यक्रीणन् भवन्त: एतद् वाहनम् ?

'For how many rupees have you hired this conveyance?'

The sole verb stem participating in these constructions is परि-क्री denoting 'to hire, rent.'

Nominal stems शत, द्रव्य, गुड्धाना, रूप्यक etc. illustrated here are an odd lot semantically. However, these stand for 'things, entities' that are 'the best means' of accomplishing the action denoted by the co-occurring verb stem परि-क्री. Panini uses the expression साधकतम 'means par excellence' to designate this.

It may be pointed out that there are numerous verb stems besides परि-क्री that may co-occur with nominal stems 'things, entities' denoted by which serve as 'means par excellence' to accomplish actions denoted by them. The कारक relation nominal stems express while co-occurring with such verb stems is that of करण (1442).

Nominal stems co-occurring with परि-क्री, thus, may denote सम्प्रदान or करण. In other words these denote सम्प्रदान optionally. Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems with परि-क्री reads as follows.

कारके परिक्रयणे साधकतमम् अन्यतरस्याम् सम्प्रदानम् । (1444)

It may be rendered as under.

'On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things' that denote, 'best means' for accomplishing an action designate सम्प्रदान optionally when in construction with परि-क्री 'hire.'

82

3. करण कारक

Nominal stems in underlined forms in the following constructions hold कारक relation with verb stems co-occurring with them. The 3rd विभक्ति after these marks a specific variety which is called करण by Panini.

भद्रं <u>कर्णेभि</u>: शृणुयाम देवा:, भद्रं पश्येमा<u>क्षिभि</u>र् यजत्रा: ।
स्थिरैर् <u>अङ्गैस्</u> तुष्टुवांसस् <u>तनुभि</u>र् व्यशेम देवहितं यदायु: ।(ऋग् . 1.89.8)
'O Gods! May we hear well with our ears. O you who are worthy of worship! May we see well with our eyes. With steady limbs and with bodies praising (you) may we attain to life that is allotted to us by the creator.'

विश्वा जातान्यभ्यस्मि <u>मह्ना</u> ।   (ऋग् . 8.100.4)
'Through greatness have I surpassed all beings.'

<u>अक्षैर्</u> मा दीव्य: कृषिमित् कृषस्व ।   (ऋग् . 10.34.13)
'Don't play with dice; cultivate agriculture.'

<u>यज्ञेन</u> यज्ञम् अयजन्त देवा: ।   (ऋग् . 10.90.6)
'With sacrifice the gods performed sacrifices.'

अग्ने नय <u>सुपथा</u> राये अस्मान् ।   (यजु. 40.16)
'O fire! Lead us for acquisition of wealth by a noble path.'

मित्रस्य <u>चक्षुषा</u> सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे ।   (यजु. 36.18)
'May I look upon all beings with the eye of a friend.'

<u>ब्रह्मचर्येण</u> <u>तपसा</u> देवा मृत्युम् उपाघ्नत ।   (अथर्व. 11.5)
'With celibacy and austerity the gods overpowered death.'

जनको ह वैदेहो बहुदक्षणेन <u>यज्ञेनेजे</u> ।   (बृ. 3.1.1.)
'Janaka, the king of Videha, performed a sacrifice where gifts in plenty were given.'

83

<u>चक्षुषा</u> हि रूपाणि पश्यति ।   (बृ. 3.2.5)

'For, one sees forms through the eye.'

स ब्राह्मण: <u>केन</u> स्यात् ?   (बृ. 3.5.1.)

'By what means does he become a knower of Brahman?'

विज्ञातारम् अरे <u>केन</u> विजानीयात् ।   (बृ. 4.5.15)

'Through what should one know the knower?'

स यत्रैतत् <u>स्वप्न्यया</u> चरति ते हास्य लोका: । (बृ. 2.1.18)

सो अकामयत भूयसा <u>यज्ञेन</u> यजेयेति ।

तद् यथा <u>लवणेन</u> सुवर्णं सन्दध्यात्, <u>सुवर्णेन</u> रजतं,

<u>रजतेन</u> त्रपु, <u>त्रपुणा</u> सीसम् , <u>सीसेन</u> लोहम् , <u>लोहेन</u> दारु, दारु <u>चर्मणा</u> ।

          (छा. 4.17.7)

'It is like this, as one would join gold by means of borax; silver by means of gold, tin by means of silver, lead with the help of tin, iron with lead, wood with iron (and) wood with leather.

<u>विद्यया</u> अमृतम् अश्नुते ।   (ईश. 11)

तस्य <u>भासा</u> सर्वं इदम् विभाति ।   (कठ. 2.2.15)

<u>तपसा</u> ब्रह्म विजिज्ञासस्व ।   (तैत्तिरीय. 3.2)

(रावण to राम) तिष्ठेदानीं निहन्मि त्वामेष <u>शूलेन</u> राघव !

          (रा. 6.104.20)

(राम to रावण)   अद्य त्वाम् <u>सायकैस्</u> तीक्ष्णैर् नयामि यमसादनम् ।

          (रा. 6.105.19)

मा स्म <u>युद्धेन</u> भीषये: ।   (महा. 5.72.1)

'Don't scare (them) with the fear of war.'

न चापि वैरं <u>वैरेण</u> केशव उपशाम्यति,

<u>हविषाग्निर्</u> यथा कृष्ण भूय एवाभिवर्धते ।   (महा. 5.70.63)

<u>गदाभिर्</u> <u>असिभि:</u> <u>प्रासैर्</u> <u>बाणैश्च</u> नतपर्वभि:,

जघ्नु: परस्परं तत्र क्षत्रियाः कालचोदिता: । (महा. 6.66.17)

अर्चेद् देवान् <u>अदम्भेन</u> सेवेतामभया गुरुन् ,

84

निधिं निदध्यात् पारत्र्यं यात्रार्थं दानशब्दितम् । (महा. 13.148.36)

'One should worship god without any hypocrisy, serve elders without duplicity and for the journey of the world beyond he should put away treasures called donations.'

देवान् भावयता<u>नेन</u> !	(गीता 3.l)
तद् (ज्ञानम्) विद्धि <u>प्रणिपातेन</u> <u>परिप्रश्नेन</u> <u>सेवया</u> ।	(गीता 4.34)
सर्वं <u>ज्ञानपूर्वेनैव</u> वृजिनं संतरिष्यति ।	(गी. 4.36)
यजन्ते <u>नामयज्ञैस्</u> ते <u>दम्भेना</u>विधिपूर्वकम् ।	(गी. 16.17)
न <u>बाहुभ्यां</u> नदीं तरेत् ।	(मनु. 4.77)
नाग्निं <u>मुखेनो</u>पध्मेत् ।	(मनु. 4.53)
<u>पुत्रेण</u> लोकान् जयति <u>पौत्रेणा</u>नन्त्यम् अश्नुते ।	(वासिष्ठ धर्मशास्त्र 17.5)
<u>अद्भिर्</u> गात्राणि शुध्यन्ति, मन: <u>सत्येन</u> शुध्यति ।	
विद्या <u>तपोभ्यां</u> भूतात्मा, बुद्धिर् <u>ज्ञानेन</u> शुध्यति ।	(वासिष्ठ 3.60)
न <u>पादेन</u> <u>पाणिना</u> वा जलम् अभिहन्यात् ।	(वासिष्ठ 6.36)
<u>नेष्टकाभि:</u> फलं शातयीत ।	(वासिष्ठ 6.38)
नापजिघ्रेत् स्त्रियं <u>मुखेन</u> ।	(आप. 1.2.7.8)

'One should not kiss a woman with his mouth.'

न <u>हृदयेन</u> प्रार्थयेत् ।	(आप. 1.2.7.9.)

'Nor should he desire her in his heart.'

अथो यत् किञ्च <u>मनसा</u> <u>वाचा</u> <u>चक्षुषा</u> वा संकल्पयन्

ध्यायत्याहाभिपश्यति वा तथैव तद् भवतीत्युपदिशन्ति । (आप. 1.2.5.8)

'They say wishing whatsoever, he thinks of it in his mind, speaks out with his speech, or looks at it with his eye, it happens exactly the same.'

यत् ते अग्ने तेजस् <u>तेना</u>हं तेजस्वी भूयासम् । (आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र 21.4)

'O fire! The luster that is in you, may I become lustrous with that.'

<u>श्रद्धया</u> चान्न<u>दानेन</u> <u>प्रियप्रश्नोत्तरेण</u> च,

गच्छतश्चानुयातेन प्रीतिम् उत्पादयेद् गृही ।   (पाराशरस्मृति 1.44)

'The households should generate friendliness through faith, offerings of food, pleasant conversation and following him while he is leaving.'

तुष्टान् भूयो अर्थमानाभ्यां पूजयेत् ।   (कौ. 1.13.16)

'He should honor these who are satisfied with presents and respect.'

अनेनार्घेण कः क्रेता इति ।   (कौ. 3.9.3)

'Who will buy this at this price?'

शूद्रो येनाङ्गेन ब्राह्मणम् अभिहन्यात् तद् अस्य च्छेदयेत् । (कौ. 3.19.8)

'That organ with which a shudra strikes a Brahmin shall be cut off.'

प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मणबलं परो अभिहारयति ।   (कौ. 9.2.23)

'The enemy (परः) wins over the army of Brahmins by prostration.'

वीरः सुनीत्या अपनीतम् अर्थं प्रत्यानिनीषते ।   (कौ.   )

'Through successful diplomacy the brave strives to get back the object that has been taken away.'

हस्तेन ते हस्तं गृह्णामि ।

'I take your hand in mine.'

कुसुमैस् ते तम् अभ्यवर्षन् ।

'They showered him with flowers.'

The variety of co-occurring pairs illustrated here is of the type given below.

कर्ण-श्रु	अक्षि-दृश्	अंग-तुष्
तनु-तुष्	अक्ष-दिव्	यज्ञ-यज्
सुपथिन्-नी	चक्षुष्-समीक्ष्	तपस्-उपहन्
किम्-अस्	किम्-वि-ज्ञा	ब्रह्मचर्य-उपहन्
लवण-सम्-धा	etc. etc.	

86

The list may be multiplied indefinitely by referring to further discourses in the language.

The real problem that Panini faces is how to organize this mass of pairs into sets reflecting their freedom or preference of co-occurrence as he accomplishes in case of pairs relating to अपादान and सम्प्रदान कारक discussed above.

As he scrutinizes this heap of pairs he finds no bases to assign nominal stems on the one hand and verb stems co-occurring with these on the other to exclusive groups. Rather, he comes to realize that nominal stems just belong to one block in as much as 'things, entities' denoted by these play the role of 'the most effective means' of performing actions denoted by respective verb stems co-occurring with them. For instance, 'the thing - ear' denoted by the nominal stem कर्ण, is 'the most effective means' of performing the action of 'hearing' denoted by श्रु , the verb stem co-occurring with it in such a sentence as भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवाः ।

It follows that nominal stems denoting 'things, entities' as 'most effective means' of performing actions determine what verb stems co-occur with them. For instance, the nominal stem हस्त denoting 'the thing 'hand' determines that it is 'most effective means' in performing such actions as 'grasping, holding' denoted by the verb stems ग्रह्; 'striking' by ताड्; 'hitting' by हन्; 'breaking' by त्रुट्; 'calling' by आह्वे; 'writing' by लिख्; 'touching' by स्पृश्; 'throwing' by क्षिप्; 'giving' by दा; 'puling' by कृष्; 'drink' by पा; etc. etc.

Verb stems, it is obvious, co-occurring with each nominal stem are so varied and divergent that no single feature of any sort can possibly mark them as belonging to one group. Thus to describe co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in

pairs holding करण कारक relation, it is enough to identify nominal stems only. Nominal stems, as demonstrated above, denoting 'things, entities' as 'best means' of performing actions, will ensure what verb stems co-occur with them.

Panini is, thus, satisfied in identifying the whole lot of nominal stems as 'best means' of performing actions. He subsumes these under the expression साधकतम 'most effective means, means par excellence.'

He does not need to identify co-occurring verb stems as explained above. Accordingly his statement is formulated as follows.

कारके साधकतमम् करणम् । (1442)

To indicate, however, that a nominal stem co-occurs with an appropriate verb stem, the expression क्रियायोगे qualifying साधकतमम is understood to be implied here. Thus the full statement may be read as follows.

कारके साधकतमम् (क्रियायोगे) करणम् । (1442)

It may be rendered as under.

 "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things, entities' considered 'most effective means' of accomplishing actions (denoted by appropriate verb stems co-occurring with them), denote करण ."

4. अधिकरण कारक

Nominal stems in the underlined forms in the following constructions denote कारक relation with verb stems co-occurring with them. The 7th विभक्ति after them marks specific कारक which is called अधिकरण by Panini.

88

दिवि सोमो अधिश्रित: ।   (ऋग् . 10.85)

'Soma is set in the sky'

कस्मिन्न‍ङ्गे तिष्ठति भूमिरस्य कस्मिन्न‍ङ्गे तिष्ठत्यन्तरिक्षम् ।(अथर्व. 10.7.3)

'On what part of his body rests the earth and on what does the mid region?'

स पुत्रेणैवास्मिंल्लोके प्रतितिष्ठति ।   (बृ. 1.5.17)

'He (the father) lives in this world through his son only.'

सो अहम् अस्मि इति अग्रे व्याहरत् ।   (बृ. 1.4.1)

'He first uttered 'I am'.

य एषो अन्तर् हृदय आकाशस् तस्मिन् शेते ।   (बृ. 2.1.17)

'It (the self) lies in the space that is in the heart.'

ब्रह्मचर्यं भगवति वत्स्यामि, उपेयाम् भगवन्तम् इति । (छा. 4.4.3)

'I shall live as a celebrate i.e. a student, at your house, so I have approached you.'

य एष आदित्ये पुरुषो दृश्यते सो अहम् अस्मि ।   (छा. 4.11.1)

'The person that is seen in the sun, that I am.'

सर्वेषु लोकेषु भाति य एवं वेद ।   (छा. 4.15.4)

'He who knows this shines in all the worlds.'

ते ह समित्पाणय: पूर्वाह्णे प्रतिचक्रमिरे ।   (छा. 5.11.7)

'With wood in hand they approached him in the forenoon.'

तं होवाच- यद् दोषा लवणम् उदके अवधा अङ्ग तद् आहर   इति ।

(छा. 6.13.1)

'To him he said- Dear One! Bring that salt you put in the water at night.'

अथ यदास्य वाङ् मनसि सम्पद्यते, मन: प्राणे,

प्राणस् तेजसि, तेज: परस्यां देवतायाम् अथ न जानाति । (छा. 6.15.1)

'Then, when his speech merges into the mind, mind into the vital force, the vital force into तेजस् warmth

89

and तेजस् into the supreme deity, he ceases to recognize.'

भगवन् ! कुत एष प्राणो जायते, कथम् आयात्यस्मिन् शरीरे । (प्रश्न. 3.1)

भगवन् ! एतस्मिन् पुरुषे कानि स्वपन्ति, कान्यस्मिन् जाग्रति । (प्रश्न. 4.1)

स तस्मिन् एव आकाशे स्त्रियम् आजगाम ।   (केन 3.12)

'He (Indra) met a woman in that very space.'

यच्छेद् वाङ् मनसी प्राज्ञस् तद् यच्छेज् ज्ञान आत्मनि ।

ज्ञानम् आत्मनि महति नियच्छेत् तद् यच्छेच् शान्त आत्मनि ।

                                         (कठ. 1.3.13)

तस्मिंल् लोका: श्रिता: सर्वे तद् उ नात्येति कश्चन ।   (कठ. 2.3.1)

कर्माणि विज्ञानमयश्चात्मा परे अव्यये सर्व एकीभवन्ति ।(मुण्डक. 3.2.7)

सर्व कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ।   (गी. 4.33)

तेजश्चास्मि विभावसौ ।   (गी. 7.9)

ईश्वर: सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशे अर्जुन तिष्ठति ।   (गी. 18.61)

सेनयोर् उभयोर् मध्ये रथं स्थापय मे अच्युत ।   (गी. 1.21)

मय्येव मन आधत्स्व ।   (गी. 12.8)

मा युद्धे चेत आधिथा: ।   (महा. 5.127.39)

'Don't set your mind on fighting.'

ततो अहं भरतश्रेष्ठ ! संन्यषीदं रथोत्तमे ।   (महा. 5.181.15)

सर्वाण्येवापिधीयन्ते पदजातानि कौञ्जरे ।   (महा. 13.115.6)

'All the footsteps are covered in that of the elephant.'

मन्त्रयमाणे ह्येकेन अर्थकृच्छेषु निश्चयं नाधिगच्छेत् ।   (कौ. 1.15.35)

'Taking council with one (minister), he may not be able to arrive at a decision in difficult matters.'

रामे वा भरते वाहं विशेषं नोपलक्षये ।   (रा. 2.7.35)

रजका: काष्ठफलकश्लक्ष्णशिलासु वस्त्राणि नेनिज्यु: । (कौ. 4.1.14)

'Washermen should wash clothes on wooden planks or on stone slabs of smooth surface.'

पर्वसु च नदीपूजा: कारयेत् ।   (कौ. 4.3.10)

'On auspicious days, he (the king) should cause worship of rivers.'

दण्डवतो मित्रं <u>मित्रभावे</u> तिष्ठति अमित्रो वा <u>मित्रभावे</u> । (कौ. 8.1.56)

'An ally of one who has a (strong) army remains friendly. Even a non-ally shows friendly attitude.'

खद्योतचूर्णसर्षपतैलयुक्तं <u>रात्रौ</u> ज्वलति ।   (कौ. 14.2.18)

गुरो: <u>कुले</u> न भिक्षेत्, न <u>ज्ञातिकुलबन्धुषु</u> ।   (मनु 2.184)

'He should not go for alms in the family of his teacher, nor in the family of his own caste nor to relations of the family.'

नैक: सुप्याच् <u>छून्यगृहे</u> ।   (मनु 4.57)

<u>अप्सु</u> प्रवेश्य तं दण्डं वरुणायोपपादयेत् ।

श्रुतवृत्तोपपन्ने वा ब्राह्मणं प्रतिपादयेत् ।   (मनु 9.244)

'Throwing away that fine (realized from great sinners) in the water, he (the king) should offer it to व रुण, the god of waters. Or he should give that to a Brahmin possessed of learning and good conduct.'

न <u>शूद्रराज्ये</u> निवसेत्   (मनु 4.61)

ब्राह्मे <u>मुहूर्ते</u> बुद्ध्येत धर्मार्थौ चानुचिन्तयेत् ।   (मनु 4.92)

अत ऊर्ध्वं तु छन्दांसि <u>शुक्लेषु</u> नियत: पठेत् ।

वेदाङ्गानि च सर्वाणि <u>कृष्णपक्षेषु</u> सम्पठेत् ।   (मनु 4.98)

देवकार्याणि <u>पूर्वाह्णे</u> मनुष्याणां च <u>मध्यमे</u> ।

पितॄणाम् <u>अपराह्णे</u> तु कुर्याद् एतानि यत्नत: ।   (दक्ष. 2.31)

<u>ताम्रपात्रे</u> न गोक्षीरं पचेद् अन्नं न <u>लोहजे</u> ।   (प्रजापति 114)

<u>ब्रह्मस्वे</u> मा रतिं कुर्यात् ।   (बृहस्पति 45)

'Do not show any greed for the wealth of a Brahmin'.

<u>निदाघे</u> अप: प्रयच्छेत् ।   (वसिष्ठ 2.38)

'In summer one should offer water.'

एकैकं वर्धयेत् पिण्डं <u>शुक्ले</u> <u>कृष्णे</u> च ह्रासयेत् ।

91

अमावस्यां न भुञ्जीत एवं चान्द्रायणो विधि: ।   (वसिष्ठ 27.21)

राजा चतुरो वर्णान् स्वधर्मे स्थापयेत् ।   (वसिष्ठ 19.5)

ब्राह्मणकुले वा यल् लभेत तद् भुञ्जीत ।   (वसिष्ठ 10.18)

गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणम् उपनयीत ।   (वसिष्ठ 11.44)

'In the 8th year of conception the investiture of sacred thread of a Brahmin be performed.'

अकार एव लुप्यन्ति सर्वमन्त्राक्षराणि हि ।   (वृद्धहारीत 10.40)

'All the sounds of a hymn indeed merge into the sound अ .'

संप्रोक्ष्याद्भि: शुचौ देशे संशोषयेद् बुध: ।   (वृद्धहारीत 11.108)

'Washing (the grains) in water, the wise should dry these in a clean place.'

अश्नीयात् केवलं भक्तं नक्तं मृन्मयभाजने ।   (वेदव्यास 2.39)

'(The houselady, wife) should eat only rice in an earthen pot at night.'

सुक्षेत्रे वापयेद् बीजं, सुपात्रे दापयेद् धनम् ।   (वेदव्यास 4.51)

दिवि दीव्यन्ति तारका: ।

वृक्षे अवतरन्ति पक्षिण: ।

विमले सरसि प्ररोहन्ति कमलानि ।

Following type of co-occurring pairs are illustrated in the above constructions:

अङ्ग — स्था	लोक — प्र-स्था
अग्र — वि-आ-ह	तद् — शी
भगवत् — वस्	आदित्य — दृश्
लोक — भा	पूर्वाह्ल — प्रति-क्रम्
उदक — धा	मनस् — सम्-पद् etc. etc.

A list of such pairs may be augmented to any extent by going over more discourses in the language. Structurally relevant question that may be raised in this context is how

co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in these pairs is to be explicated.

Nominal and verb stems in a pair display no visible mark of syntactic linkage between them. Each pair appears to be unique with regard to its constituency.

However, as we step out of the domain of things linguistic (domain of language), we may perceive intimate and significant relationship between 'things, entities' and 'activities' denoted respectively by co-occurring nominal and verb stems in pairs.

To appreciate this relationship consider nominal stem designating अधिकरण कारक and verb stem co-occurring with it in the construction पितरस् ते अवलम्बन्ते गर्ते दीना अधोमुखा: । (महा. 1.41.26) 'Your forefathers are hanging down in this cave, helpless and upside down.'

Here 'the thing cave' denoted by nominal stem गर्त (designating अधिकरण कारक) plays the role of 'locus' for 'hanging down', the activity denoted by अवलम्ब् , the verb stem co-occurring with it. This pragmatic relationship binds गर्त and अवलम्ब् , the two linguistic entities forming a co-occurring pair.

Thus it is the role of 'things, entities' denoted by nominal stems as 'locus' vis-à-vis activities denoted by respective verb stems co-occurring with them that characterizes them as one single group. Panini uses the expression आधार to describe this role and consequently the group of nominal stems designate अधिकरण कारक.

What about verb stems? Are these also marked by some such feature? Do 'activities, notions' expressed by verb stems share some role vis-à-vis 'thing' denoted by respective

93

nominal stems co-occurring with them?

It is true that each verb stem by virtue of denoting a particular range of semantic features may co-occur with a number of nominal stems, e.g. शी 'sleep, lie down' may co-occur with शय्या, खद्धा, पर्यङ्क, कट, भूमि, स्थण्डिल, गृह, वृक्ष, शिला, जल, पृष्ठ etc. etc. But the questions is— Do these display any feature of any sort in terms of which co-occurrence of nominal stems could be explicated?

We perceive none. Verb stems rather remain as so many disparate and unrelated entities. Thus an attempt to explicate co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in these pairs in terms of verb stems has to be given up.

Panini, thus, explicates co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in these pairs in terms of the role of 'things' entities', denoted by nominal stems as 'locus' vis-à-vis 'activities' denoted by respective verb stems co-occurring with them and designating of अधिकरण by nominal stems.

Since verb stems cannot be subsumed under one group their explicit mention in the statement is not feasible. It is simply implied that a nominal stem co-occurs with one verb stem or the other. The only condition is that there has to be semantic compatibility between the constituents of a pair. To make it explicit, however, we throw in brackets the expression क्रियायोगे 'in construction with verbal expression' qualifying आधार: denoting nominal stems.

Panini's statement, thus, reads as follows.

कारके आधार: (क्रियायोगे) अधिकरणम् (1445)

It my be interpreted as below.

"On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things,

94

entities' that play the role of 'locus' (when in construction with appropriate verb stems) express अधिकरण."

5. कर्मन् कारक

Nominal stems in the forms underlined in the following constructions hold कारक relations with verb stems co-occurring with them.   The 2nd विभक्ति with them marks a specific कारक variety. It is called कर्मन् by Panini.

अग्निष्टे <u>पादं</u> वक्ता ।   (छा. 4.6.1)
"Fire will explain to you one foot (of Brahman)".
<u>ब्रह्मचर्य</u> भवति ! विवत्स्यामि ।   (छा. 4.4.1)
"Respected (mother)! I wish to live as a celebrate (in the teacher's home)."
<u>एतं</u> त्वेव ते भूयो अनुव्याख्यास्यामि ।   (छा. 8.9.3)
"I shall explain the same to you again."
नचिकेतो <u>मरणं</u> मानुप्राक्षी: ।   (कठ. 1.1.25)
"Nachiketas! Don't ask about Death."
<u>भिक्षितं</u> नानुभिक्षयेत् ।   (शंख स्मृति 7.3)
"(The ascetic) should not ask for alms from the house which has been visited earlier."
सर्व: <u>सर्वम्</u> न जानाति ।
"Everyone does not know everything."
<u>अन्नं</u> न निन्द्यात् ।
"One should not decry food."
औषधवद् <u>अन्नं</u> प्राश्नीयात् ।
"One should take food like medication i.e. only as much as is needed."
<u>द्रौपदीं</u> दीव्यामि अहम् ।
"I put Draupadi on stake."
तरति <u>शोकम्</u> आत्मविद् ।
"The knower of self goes beyond grief."
<u>उपवनम्</u> अधिवसति कश्चित् तपस्वी ।
"Some ascetic dwells in the forest.'

96

स्थण्डिलम् अधिशेरते ब्रह्मचारिण: ।

"The celibates sleep on bare ground."

दुग्धे अस्मै वाग् दोहम् ।   (छा. 1.3.7)

"Speech yielded milk for him."

ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो हन्ताहम् इमम् द्वौ प्रश्नौ प्रक्ष्यामि ।   (छा. 3.8.1)

"Revered Brahmans ! With your permission I shall ask him two questions."

The type of pairs illustrated in the above construction are as follows.

पाद् — वच्	ब्रह्मचर्य — विवस्	एतद् — अनुव्याख्या
सर्व — ज्ञा	अन्न — निन्द्	अन्न — प्राश्
द्रौपदी — दिव्	शोक — तु	उपवन — अधि-वस्
वाच् — दुह्	इदम् — प्रच्छ्	प्रश्न — प्रच्छ्

From a further survey of language discourses we may collect any number of such pairs. We have, thus, countless pairs holding कर्मन् relation.

We may notice that in these pairs nominal stems on the one hand and verb stems on the other do not seem to share any linguistic features to allow us to explicate their co-occurrence. Nominal and verb stems in each pair appear to be unique entities. Thus to describe what nominal stems co-occur with what verb stems an exhaustive list of pairs has to be prepared. In the first instance it is a stupendous task to accomplish. Secondly such a structural description is opaque and mystified. A way has to be found out to organize these pairs into sets reflecting their co-occurrence freedom or choices.

We find that Panini is able to organize this vast hoard of unique pairs into ten such sets. Each set is unique in as much as there is no overlapping of pairs among them.

97

Accordingly, Panini has ten statements describing these sets. Below we shall examine Panini's bases of identifying respective nominal and verb stems that constitute these sets and his formulation of these statements.

Consider pairs occurring in the following constructions.

(a)   ऋग्वेदं भगवो अध्येमि ।　　　　सा देवता मृत्युं जयति ।
　　　त्वं किम् ध्यायसि ?　　　　　स: प्रातर् अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति ।
　　　अथ हौनं वृषभो अभ्युवाद ।　　प्राणं देवा अनुप्राणन्ति ।
　　　ब्रह्मणश्च ते पादं ब्रवाणि ।　　　कृषक: सस्यं रक्षति ।
　　　अहं नदीं तरामि ।

　　　अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान् ।　सोम्य ! एता गा उदज ।
　　　न्यग्रोधफलम् अत आहर ।　　　आसाम् एकां धानां भिन्द्धि ।
　　　प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सी: ।　　अन्नं न निन्द्यात् ।
　　　सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु ।　　　　भद्रं कर्णेभि: शृणुयाम देवा: ।
　　　किम् अत्र पश्यसि ?　　　　　अग्निष्टे पादं वक्ता ।

　　　गर्दभो भारं वहति ।　　　　　पिपीलिका शिशुं दंशति ।
　　　शाखामृगा मधु भक्षयन्ति ।　　गाव: सरसि जलं पिबन्ति ।
　　　पक्षिशावका: कीटान् ग्रसन्ति ।

　　　भूमि: सर्वं सहते ।　　　　　वृक्षा: फलानि बिभ्रति ।
　　　वायुर् गन्धं वहति ।　　　　　मेघा जलं वर्षन्ति ।
　　　चन्द्रस् तमो हरति ।　　　　　अग्निर् वनं दहति ।

(b) दुर्योधन:
　　　वह्निमेव प्रवेक्ष्यामि भक्षयिष्यामि वा विषम् ।
　　　अपो वापि प्रवेक्ष्यामि न हि शक्ष्यामि जीवितुम् ।　　　(महा. 2.43.27)

98

राम:

अहं हि सीतां राज्यं च प्राणान् इष्टान् धनानि च ।

हृष्टो भ्रात्रे स्वयं दद्यां भरतायाप्रचोदित: ।   (रा. 1.19.7)

राम:

अहो धिङ् नार्हसे देवि वक्तुं माम् ईदृशं वच: ।

अहं हि वचनाद् राज्ञ: पतेयम् अपि पावके ।

भक्षयेयं विषं तीक्ष्णं मज्जेयम् अपि चार्णवे । (रा. 2.18.28-29)

वाजश्रवस् to नचिकेतस्

मृत्यवे त्वा ददामि इति ।   (कठ 1.1.4)

स्फाटिकं तलम् आसाद्य जलम् इत्यभिशंकया ।

स्ववस्त्रोत्कर्षणं राजा कृतवान् बुद्धिमोहित: ।   (महा. 2.43.3-4)

द्वारं च विवृताकारं ललाटेन समाहनत् ।

संवृतं चेति मन्वानो द्वारदेशाद् उपारमत् ।   (महा. 2.43.10)

जानन् वै को नु नाम कुपितं भुजङ्गम् पादेन ताडयेत् ।

रज्जुं मन्वान: स नक्तं सर्पम् हस्तेन जग्राह ।

(c)   (मन्थरा to कैकेयी) तौ च याचस्व भर्तारम् ।   (रा. 2.9.20)
"You ask for these two (boons) from your husband".

गाम् दोग्धि पय: गोपाल: ।	बलिं याचते वसुधां वामन: ।
माणवकं पृच्छति पन्थानं पथिक: ।	पौरवं भिक्षते गां विप्र: ।
क्षीरनिधिं सुधां मथ्नन्ति देवासुरा: ।	गृहिणं शतं मुष्णाति स्तेय: ।
देवदत्तं शतं जयति कितव: ।	गर्गान् शतं दण्डयति नृप: ।
वृक्षम् अवचिनोति पुष्पाणि मालाकार: ।	शिष्यं ब्रूते धर्मम् गुरु: ।
माणवकं शास्ति आचारम् आचार्य: ।	तण्डुलान् ओदनं पचति देवदत्त:

।

व्रजम् अवरुणद्धि गां गोप: ।	ग्रामं नयति अजां मेषपाल: ।
ग्रामं हरति अजां मेषपाल: ।	ग्रामं कर्षति अजां मेषपाल: ।
ग्रामं वहति अजां मेषपाल: ।	

99

Pairs illustrated in the above groups of constructions are of the type as under.

(a)   ऋग्वेद — अधि-इ   किम् — ध्यै

        नदी — तृ   अस्मद् — नी

        प्रजातन्तु — वि-अव-छिद्   जल — वृष्

        भार — वह्   शिशु — दंश्

        सर्व — सह्

(b)   वह्नि — प्रविश्   सीता — दा

        विष् — भक्ष्   युष्मद् — दा

        द्वार — सम्-आ-हन्

(c)   गो/पयस् — दुह्   बलि/वसुधा — याच्

        शिष्य/धर्म — ब्रू   तण्डुल/ओदन — पच्

As Panini surveys these pairs he comes to realize soon enough that nominal stems constitute a miscellany. No common feature of any type seems to bind them together. And so are the co-occurring verb stems. It may, thus, be not feasible to organize such pairs in terms of linguistic features to account for their co-occurrence.

A little digression is in order here.

When Panini finds himself in a fix with regard to explicating syntactic relationships between co-occurring pairs of nominal and verbal stems in terms of structural or semantic features, he turns to wider contexts in which language is used and seeks those non-linguistic features in terms of which he could explicate their co-occurrence.

In the present context he finds himself in difficulty in offering any satisfactory explanation of co-occurrence of nominal and verb stem pairs denoting कर्मन् as illustrated in above utterances. He hits on a framework shared by a set of pairs

denoting अपादान and another one denoting सम्प्रदान. Panini postulates that in relation to actions denoted by co-occurring verb stems, 'things, entities' denoted by nominal stems may be 'desired to be attained, ईप्सित'; 'desired most to be attained, ईप्सिततम'; 'not to be desired at all, अनीप्सित' by कर्तृ or 'neutralized to such considerations, अकथित.

In (1427) and (1436) Panini accounts for co-occurrences of particular verb stems with nominal stems that are identified in terms of 'things' denoted by them as 'desired to be attained by कर्तृ, ईप्सित' and designating by them (nominal stems) respectively the कारक अपादान and सम्प्रदान. We have discussed these statements above.

Again in (1449-51) Panini explicates co-occurrence and designating of कर्मन् relation by nominal stems identified in terms of 'things, entities' considered as 'desired most to be achieved, ईप्सिततम', 'not desired at all to be attained, अनीप्सित' by कर्तृ or 'neutralized to such considerations, अकथित' vis-à-vis actions denoted by appropriate co-occurring verb stems.

Consider in this context, for instance, the pair सस्य-रक्ष् occurring in the construction कृषकः सस्यं रक्षति 'the farmer protects his crops'. 'The thing crop' denoted by the nominal stem सस्य is beyond doubt a thing 'desired most' by the farmer. He knows it pretty well that careful vigilance leads to successful gathering of plentiful harvest so treasured by him.

This pragmatic consideration forms basis for Panini to explicate co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems सस्य and रक्ष् and recognition of कर्मन् कारक relation between them and application of कर्मन् designation to सस्य.

Again the nominal stem मृत्यु 'death' and the verb stem जि 'to conquer, vanquish' are found to co-occur in the utterance सा देवता मृत्युं जयति "That god conquers death." Here also 'the thing death' denoted by the nominal stem मृत्यु holds the same pragmatic relationship with the action of 'conquering' denoted by the verb stem जि. 'The thing death' is regarded as the thing 'desired best' by the कर्तृ vis-à-vis the action denoted by the co-occurring verb stem जि 'conquer'. In terms of this relationship co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems is explicated and also the designation of कर्मन् कारक is applied to the nominal stems.

Panini comes across scores of such pairs in language discourses. He feels justified in concluding that nominal stems denoting 'things' regarded by कर्तृ as 'desired most' in relation to action denoted by verb stems co-occurring with these account for co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems and designation of कर्मन् कारक by nominal stems.

However, pragmatic relationship between co-occurring nominal and verb stems is not always certain and beyond doubt, sharpened, transparent. It is found flexible and even elusive and indeterminate occasionally. Thus we need to have a closer look at the concepts of ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित in the present context.

To say 'things desired most' by कर्तृ implies that there are multiple choices before him and he is capable of evaluating these and finally selecting one of these. Consider in this context the pair ऋग्वेद, अधि-इ occurring in the utterance ऋग्वेदं भगवो अध्येमि 'Sir! I'll study the Rig-Veda', a very common pattern.

There could be thousand and one reasons why I am studying the Rig-Veda, not necessarily reflecting my voluntary option that it is regarded as 'best' in my interest. Maybe I liked to study the Sama-Veda but there was no qualified teacher there to offer instructions in that; maybe my parents insisted that I must study first the Rig-Veda; maybe Rig-Veda is the only Vedic text taught there. And so on.

A child does not seem to have deliberated over the question in his mind if milk was the thing 'desired most' by him before he started sipping it, शिशुः दुग्धं पिबति. In fact he is not aware of any choices. He sips whatever is offered to him by his mother.

The donkey carries the load not out of free choice as the best thing 'desired' by him in the world; गर्दभः भारं वहति. He simply carries whatever his master finds serves his interests best.

Nor does the ant sting the child with any desire to get any bonus out of it, पिपीलिका शिशुं दंशति.

The trees bear fruits - वृक्षाः फलानि वहन्ति; the clouds pour water -मेघाः जलं वर्षन्ति; the fire consumes forests - अग्निः वनं दहति and so on, not out of their free choice. These entities are inherently not capable of making any decisions.

In सौम्य ! एता गा उदज 'My dear! Drive away these cows' 'driving away of cows' is not initiated by कर्तृ in his 'best interest'. It denotes the command of the speaker.

'Speak the truth', सत्यं वद is an exhortation from the speaker to the कर्तृ for his self-improvement. It does not reflect कर्तृ's doing it as 'desired most'.

What an astounding diversity of pragmatic attitudes

displayed by co-occurring nominal and verb stems in these utterances are subsumed under the notion of ईप्सिततम !

Jumping into fire - अग्नि - प्रविश्, swallowing of poison - विष - भक्ष्, diving into water - अप् - प्रविश् are not दुर्योधन's free choices in his 'best interests'. Rather it is circumstances that force him to resort to these unpleasant alternatives (options). (a(i)).

So also we feel ill at ease in explicating कर्मन् relationship between स्ववस्त्रोत्कर्षण -कृ, द्वार—सम्-आ-हन्, सर्प—ग्रह, etc. in terms of ईप्सिततम or अनीप्सित (b(ii)).

Again, to account for कर्मन् कारक relation between ओदन्—भुज् in देवदत्तः ओदनं भुङ्क्ते   and   विष् – भुज् in   देवदत्तः विषं भुङ्क्ते,   the assumption that the thing 'rice' is 'desired most' and the thing 'poison' is 'not desired at all' by देवदत्त, the कर्तृ of भुज्, is totally superfluous. Formal structural pattern of the two constructions involved here lends no support to such an explication. The distinction we try to impose here is a distinction without any distinction. It is absolutely devoid of any grammatical motivation.

Allusion to above examples points out how tantalizing and illusive the concepts of ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित are.

If distinction between ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित is redundant as argued above, the question arises why Panini insists on introducing it in the system.

At this stage we may review the whole question of postulating   distinctions   of   ईप्सित, ईप्सिततम , अनीप्सित   and neutralization of ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित.

Panini <u>does</u> need the concept of ईप्सित and ईप्सिततम to account for distinctions of   अपादान and   कर्मन् in क्षेत्रपतिः माषेभ्यः गाः वारयति.

104

'the thing' denoted by माष is regarded as ईप्सित (1427) and 'thing' denoted by गो as 'desired most' (1449).

Once the concepts of ईप्सित and ईप्सिततम are established in the system, the concept of अनीप्सित makes its entry perforce. If ओदन denotes 'the thing desired most' in ओदनं भुङ्क्ते , 'the thing' denoted by विष in ओदनं भुञ्जानः विषं भुङ्क्ते has to be considered अनीप्सित. And so are 'things' denoted by वह्नि in वह्नि प्रवेक्ष्यामि etc.

There are such constructions as गां दोग्धि पयः. The 'thing' denoted by पयस् is obviously 'desired most'. What about गो ? It is <u>not</u> अनीप्सित. Perforce it has to be recognized as neither ईप्सिततम nor अनीप्सित. Thus neutralization of both concepts finds its way in the system.

It may be pointed out that Panini does not forget to add a rider that highlights identity of structural framework of pairs denoting ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित (1450). Consequently he is now in a stronger position to account for कर्मन् relation between तृण and स्पृश् in terms of अनीप्सित rather than ईप्सिततम in such constructions as ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणानि स्पृशति "He comes into contact with blades of grass while on his way to the village."

To sum up

From the above discussion it is clear that there is a full spectrum of choices from things 'desired most' to things 'not desired at all.'   In between these two extremes are accommodated all shades of choices reflecting कर्तृ's choicelessness, compulsion, desperation, frustration, mistaken identity, inherent nature of things, indifference, incidental or involuntary performance, prayer, entreaty to someone, speaker's wish, or command, exhortation etc.   Any razor

sharp demarcation between two borders is neither possible nor desirable. Most of the time it is not needed to invoke such a distinction. Formal linguistic structure of constructions all along the spectrum is the same.   It points out unmistakably to sameness of कारक relation.

We shall now consider below formulation and interpretation of Panini's structural statements (1449-51) based on data similar to what is displayed in constructions (a), (b) and (c) given above.

(i) Co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs illustrated in constructions (a) are of following type.   These hold कारक relation. It is कर्मन् denoted by nominal stems.

ऋग्वेद	अधि-इ	मृत्यु	जि
किम्	ध्यै	अग्निहोत्र	हु
अस्मद्	नी	गो	उद्-अज्
अन्न	निन्द्	भद्र	श्रु
भार	वह्	कीट	ग्रस्
जल	वृष्	तमस्	ह
etc. etc.			

Nominal stems constitute a distinct group in as much as these denote 'things, entities', as discussed above, regarded as 'desired most' to be attained by कर्तृ . It may be pointed out that 'desiredness' embraces all its shades. Panini does not recognize any scales of it.

To achieve generalization in his structural statement Panini strikes a compromise with facts of language. Under the concept of ईप्सिततम he includes nominal and verb stem pairs where things denoted by nominal stems are positively

106

'desired most' by कर्तृ in relation to action denoted by co-occurring verb stems as well as those pairs where things are 'desired most' only marginally or remotely. Thus the expression ईप्सिततम read in his statement be understood in a more comprehensive and loose sense as explained earlier.

To denote nominal stems, he employs the expression कर्तुर् ईप्सिततमम् 'desired most' or 'desired most to be attained' by कर्तृ . It is कर्तृ of the verb stem that is constituent of these pairs i.e. अधि-इः हु , निन्द् etc., for instance.

Verb stems, co-occurring with nominal stems constitute an odd lot on the other hand. No feature, semantic or otherwise seems to characterize these as a group. Each verb stem is uniquely compatible semantically with respective nominal stem it co-occurs with. Panini, thus, makes no mention of verb stems in his statement as given below. All that is implied is that nominal stems are in construction with appropriate verb stems. To achieve generalization, it is assumed, Panini would read in his statement an expression like क्रियायोगे, to indicate 'in construction with an appropriate verb stem'. Thus, his statement describing co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems and designating of कर्मन् कारक by nominal stems is as follows.

कारके कर्तुर् ईप्सिततमं क्रियायोगे कर्म । (1449)

It may be interpreted as under.

"On being कारक, nominal stems denoting things desired most (to be attained by कर्तृ) denote कर्मन् when in construction with appropriate verb stem."

(ii) Type of pairs illustrated in (b) are of the following

107

type.

वह्नि	प्रविश्	वस्त्रोपकर्षण	कृ
प्राण	दा	सर्प	ग्रह्
आप्	प्रविश्	द्वार	सम्-आहन्
विष	भक्ष्	भुजङ्गम्	तड्

etc. etc.

Nominal stems denote things 'not desired at all' by कर्तृ. Verb stems co-occurring with these are not characterized by any sort of feature to constitute a distinct group. These show simply semantic compatibility with respective nominal stems.

We may reiterate that 'things' are not inherently ईप्सिततम or अनीप्सित. The nominal stem विष 'poison' may denote 'the most desired' item for one who wants to commit suicide. But not for one who is forced to by circumstances to take it or who swallows it inadvertently. Thus nominal stems irrespective of the fact whether denoting 'things desired most' or 'things not desired at all' behave in identical manner syntactically e.g.

देवदत्तः ओदनं भुङ्क्ते and देवदत्तः विषं भुङ्क्ते ।

Accordingly structural statement formulated by Panini to account for co-occurrence of pairs illustrated above and designating of कर्मन् relation by nominal stems reads as follows.

कारके तथायुक्तं च कर्तुर् अनीप्सितं क्रियायोगे कर्म । (1450)

It may be rendered as below.

"On being कारक, nominal stems denoting things not desired to be attained by कर्तृ also denote कर्मन् when these are construed syntactically with co-occurring verb stems in the manner in which these would be

108

construed   with   nominal   stems   denoting   things
'desired most'."

(iii) In constructions given under (c), we may note, that a verb stem co-occurs simultaneously with two nominal stems, both denoting कर्मन् कारक. These pairs are listed below.

1.	दुह्	पयस् ,	गो
2.	याच्	वसुधा,	बलि
3.	प्रच्छ्	पथिक,	माणवक
4.	भिक्ष्	गो,	पौरव
5.	मथ्	वसुधा,	क्षीरनिधि
6.	मुष्	शत,	गृहिन्
7.	जि	शत,	देवदत्त
8.	दण्ड्	शत,	गर्ग
9.	अव-चि	पुष्प,	वृक्ष
10.	ब्रू	धर्म,	शिष्य
11.	शास्	धर्म,	शिष्य
12.	पच्	ओदन,	तण्डुल
13.	अव-रुध्	गो,	व्रज
14.	नी	अजा,	ग्राम
15.	हृ	अजा,	ग्राम
16.	कृष्	अजा,	ग्राम
17.	वह्	अजा,	ग्राम

Of the two groups of nominal stems those listed under column one i.e. पयस्, वसुधा, पथिन् etc., are interpreted to denote things 'desired most' by कर्तृ while those under column two i.e. गो, बलि, माणवक etc., denote things neither 'desired most' nor 'not desired at all.'

Panini uses the expression अकथित to denote nominal stems in the second group.

How does the expression अकथित characterize this group? What feature does the expression अकथित refer to?

Literally it may be interpreted to denote 'not told, not specified.'

What type of 'specification' may be relevant in the context? We are inclined to associate syntactically the expression अकथितम् with ईप्सिततमम and अनीप्सितम् read here from the preceding statements. Thus Panini's full statement as constructed by us is as follows.

कारके ईप्सिततमम् अनीप्सितं च अकथितं क्रियायोगे कर्मन् । (1451)

It is rendered as below.

> "Being कारक, nominal stems denoting things specified neither as 'desired most' nor as 'not desired at all', denote कर्मन् while in construction with appropriate verb stems."

It may be pointed out that Panini does not make any explicit mention of what verb stem classes co-occur with respective nominal stems described in the statements (1449-51). In our discussion here we have assumed that any transitive, सकर्मक, verb stems compatible semantically may occur with nominal stems denoting things 'desired most', or 'not desired at all' by कर्तृ . This assumption does not seem to hold good with stems denoting things neither 'desired most' nor 'not desired at all.'. A scrutiny of data reveals that it is only a few countable transitive stems are found to co-occur with them. Such verb stems thus need to be identified explicitly. The महाभाष्य quotes a verse which

110

enumerates stems that occur in this context. It includes the stems दुह् 'milk'; याच् 'ask'; रुध् 'lock up'; प्रच्छ् 'inquire'; भिक्ष् 'beg'; चि 'pick up'; ब्रू 'speak' and शास् 'teach'. To this list Bhattoji adds पच् 'cook'; दण्ड् 'collect, receive fine'; जि 'win'; मन्थ् 'churn out'; मुष् 'steal away'; नी, ह, कृष् and वह् , all meaning 'carry'. Bhattoji, however, does not include भिक्ष् which figures in the महाभाष्य. For all practical purposes stems having the same meanings as those in the list are also to be treated alike.

One noticeable distinctive syntactic feature of this small group of verb stems is that nominal stems neutralized to distinctions of ईप्सिततम and अनीप्सित co-occurring with them and denoting कर्मन् कारक may alternately designate various other कारक relations. We reproduce these constructions below with alternate representation of कारक. These are underlined here

<u>गोर्</u> दोग्धि पयो गोपाल: ।
<u>बलेर्</u> याचते वसुधां वामन: ।
<u>माणवकात्</u> पृच्छति पन्थानं पथिक: ।
<u>पौरवात्</u> भिक्षते गां विप्र: ।
<u>क्षीरनिधे:</u> सुधां मथ्नन्ति देवासुरा: ।
<u>गृहिण:</u> शतं मुष्णाति स्तेय: ।
<u>देवदत्तात्</u> शतं जयति कितव: ।
<u>गर्गेभ्य:</u> शतं दण्डयति नृप: ।
<u>वृक्षाद्</u> अवचिनोति पुष्पाणि मालाकार: ।
<u>शिष्याय</u> ब्रूते धर्मं गुरु: ।
<u>शिष्याय</u> शास्ति धर्मं गुरु: ।
<u>तण्डुलैर्</u> ओदनं पचति देवदत्त: ।
<u>व्रजे</u> अवरुणद्धि गां गोप: ।

111

ग्रामे नयति अजां मेषपाल: ।

ग्रामे हरति अजां मेषपाल: ।

ग्रामे कर्षति अजां मेषपाल: ।

ग्रामे वहति अजां मेषपाल: ।

Nominal stems गो, बलि, माणवक etc. co-occurring with दुह्, याच्, प्रच्छ् etc. designate in the alternative अपादान (1-9); शिष्य with ब्रू, शास् सम्प्रदान (10-11); तण्डुल with पच् करण (12) and व्रज, ग्राम with नी, ह etc. अधिकरण (13-17).

For alternative representation of कर्मन् कारक by अपादान etc., as shown above, the महाभाष्य and following him other commentators of Panini are tempted to interpret the expression अकथित as denoting कर्मन् कारक when not expressed by अपादान etc.

Such an interpretation is not vouchsafed by pattern of formulation of structural statements in this section as discussed by us earlier. Nominal पदs or phrases ending in the 1st विभक्ति in a statement refer to nominal stems rather than to कारकs. Thus अकथितम्, in the first विभक्ति, refers to nominal stems things denoted by which are neither 'desired most' nor 'not desired at all' by कर्तृ.

(iv) Consider now co-occurrence of verb stems with nominal stems embedded in underlined forms denoting कर्मन् कारक.

(a)   मृत्योर् मा अमृतं गमय ।

      अद्य रामम् इत: क्षिप्रं वनं प्रस्थापयाम्यहम् ।   (रा. 2.9.2)

      उत्तारय माम् इमां नदीम् ।

      गोपाल: गा: व्रजं प्रवेशयति ।

      स्वजनं यद्यपि स्नेहान्न त्यजेयम् अहं स्वयम् ।

112

मृत्युर् अन्योन्यम् अवशान् <u>अस्मान्</u> संत्याजयिष्यति ।   (बुद्ध. 6.44)
प्रापय <u>तान्</u> अपि स्वगृहान् ।

(b)   बोधयति <u>माणवकं</u> धर्मम् आचार्यः ।
वेदयति <u>शिष्यम्</u> व्याकरणं गुरुः ।
बुध्यस्व पुत्र ! धर्मम् । अहम् <u>त्वा</u> बोधयामि ।
गुरुः <u>शिष्यम्</u> शिक्षयेच्छौचम् आदितः ।   (मनु 2.69)
अध्यापयामास <u>पितॄन्</u> शिशुर् आङ्गिरसः कविः ।   (मनु 2.151)
विज्ञापयति शुभाशुभं <u>देवदत्तं</u> तस्य पिता ।
अध्यापयति <u>माणवकं</u> वेदम् आचार्यः ।
पाठयति <u>शिष्यं</u> शास्त्रम् आचार्यः ।

(c)   न श्राद्धे भोजयेत् <u>मित्रम्</u> ।   (मनु 3.138)
यत्नेन भोजयेच् छ्राद्धे ब्रह्मचर्यं <u>वेदपारगम्</u> ।   (मनु 3.145)
षष्ठे मासे <u>शिशुम्</u> अन्नं प्राशयेत् ।
<u>शुकशावकान्</u> पाययति पानीयम् ऋषिकुमारः ।
भोजनात् प्राक् त्रिर् आचामयेत् अपो <u>अतिथिम्</u> ।

(d)   <u>लवकुशौ</u> गाययति रामायणम् वाल्मीकिः ।
<u>ब्रह्मचारिणं</u> गायत्रीम् उच्चारयेत् आचार्यः ।
देवदत्तः उच्चैः <u>पितरं</u> ज्ञापयति सन्देशम् ।
शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः ! श्रावयामि सर्वां कथाम् अहम् <u>भवतः</u> ।

(e)   आसनेषु <u>विप्रान्</u> उपवेशयेत् ।   (मनु 3.208)
<u>नैनं</u> शोषयति मारुतः ।   (गी.   )
<u>नैनं</u> क्लेदयन्ति आपः ।   (गी.   )
कामः <u>क्रोधं</u> जनयति ।
सम्मोहः <u>नरं</u> विनाशयति ।
अद्रिस् तर्पयेत् <u>देवान्</u> ।
विवासयामास <u>सुतं</u> रामं दशरथः प्रियम् ।   (रा. 1.1.23)
तेषां जातान्य<u>पत्यानि</u> चाण्डालैः सह वासयेत् ।   (दक्ष. 4.20)

113

बृहन्नले ! परिश्रान्तामपि <u>भवतीं</u> भूयः परिश्रमयिष्ये । (भास-पंचरात्र 2.33)
<u>एतान्</u> गृहे न प्रतिवासयीत ।   (महा. 5.37.39)

Co-occurring pairs illustrated here are of the following type.

अस्मद्	गम्	(Casual)
राम	प्र-स्था	"
गो	प्र-विश्	"
मित्र	भुज्	"
शिशु	प्र-अश्	"
शिशुशावक	पा	"
अतिथि	आचाम्	"
लवकुश:	गै	"
ब्रह्मचारिन्	उच्चर्	"
भवत्	श्रु	"
विप्र	उपविश्	"
नर	वि-नश्	"
सुत	विवस्	"
भवत्	परिश्रम्	"

How do we proceed to explicate co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in such pairs and assignment of कर्मन् कारक relation to nominal stems?

One thing seems to be clear. Nominal stems do not appear to share a feature of any sort that may allow us to subsume these under one distinct group. These constitute a motley lot.

Verb stems, however, on the other hand, structurally belong to the class of causal derivatives. The constructions involving causal and corresponding non-causal stems, may, thus, be assumed to be related structurally.

The nominal stem अस्मद्, for instance, may co-occur with

114

causal and non-causal varieties of गम् respectively in the constructions असतो मा सद् गमय and असतो अहम् सद् गच्छानि.

It is, however, intriguing to find that it denotes two different कारक relation with these varieties, कर्मन् with causal and कर्तृ with non-causal.

Such structural correspondence of कारक relations between co-occurring nominal and verb stems in the above pairs in constructions with causal and non-causal varieties of verb stems, may provide us the key to explicate co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in these pairs and assignment of कर्मन् relation to nominal stems.

We may now maintain that nominal stems in the above pairs may be identified simply as the same which hold कर्तृ relation in corresponding non-causal constructions, and instead of कर्तृ relation these hold कर्मन् relation in causal constructions.

However, this correspondence of कर्तृ and कर्मन् roles in respective non-causal and causal constructions does not hold good for all co-occurring pairs. Notice, for example, the following sets of constructions.

(a)   i.   देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति ।
       ii.   यज्ञदत्तः देवदत्तेन ओदनं पाचयति ।

(b)   i.   श्रमकरा: सस्यं लुनन्ति ।
       ii.   कृषका: श्रमकरै: सस्यं लावयन्ति ।

(c)   i.   मारीच: रामलक्ष्मणौ दूरम् अपावहत् ।
       ii.   रावण: मारीचेन रामलक्ष्मणौ दूरम् अपावहयत् ।

Here nominal stems देवदत्त, श्रमकर, मारीच etc., that play the role of कर्तृ with non-causal stems continue to play the same role

115

with causal varieties as well.

Obviously, verb stems fall into two groups vis-à-vis roles of nominal stems co-occurring with their causal and non-causal varieties.

Verb stems like गम् , प्र-स्था, बुध् , शुष् etc., belong to one group. Nominal stems holding कर्तृ relation with them denote कर्मन् relation with their causal variety.

On the other hand, verb stems पच् , लू, अप्-वह् etc. belong to another group. Nominal stems co-occurring with them show कर्तृ relation with both non-causal and causal varieties.

The two groups, thus, need to be distinguished unambiguously. How does Panini accomplish this task?

He makes use of structural as well as semantic criteria to identify members of the first group.

All intransitive, अकर्मक stems belong to this group.

Of transitive, सकर्मक stems those expressing the meanings of 'movement, going'; 'perception, knowing'; and 'consuming, eating and drinking' belong to this group. These are respectively subsumed by Panini under the expressions गति, बुद्धि and प्रत्यवसान.

There is still another set of transitive stems that belongs to this group. Panini uses the expression शब्दकर्म to denote it.

The expression is not unequivocal. The tradition is not sure what Panini precisely has in mind. Interpretation of the expression शब्दकर्म is discussed in the महाभाष्य where views of क त्यायन and पतञ्जलि are recorded.

Panini himself uses the expression कर्मन् in two meanings. (i.) ि

116

क्रिया, 'action' and (ii) the कारक called कर्मन् .

Accordingly the compound expression शब्दकर्म is dissolved as

    i.   शब्दो येषां क्रिया (verbs) whose action is sound, e.g. जल्प् , विलप् , आभाष् etc.

    ii.   शब्दो येषां कर्म (verbs) whose कर्मन् is sound, e.g. श्रु , ज्ञा, उपलभ्य etc.

Neither of these interpretations is comprehensive enough to cover all verb stems whose कर्तृ with non-causal variety is represented as कर्मन् with causal variety.

But Panini, on the other hand, we are certain, intends to employ the expression शब्दकर्म to characterize exhaustively all possible verb stems contextually relevant here. Thus we have to seek an interpretation of the expression which is in consonance with his intention which, of course, is obvious.

Further, since all verb stems intended to be included in the class of stems denoted by the expression शब्दकर्म are transitive, सकर्मक (co-occurring with कर्मकारक), all stems whose कर्मन् is शब्द do stand included in it by virtue of their being सकर्मक.   He has no need to put the expression कर्मन् in his statement to signify कर्मन् कारक.

Thus to put such an interpretation on this expression goes counter to his intention. It is, thus, suggested that कर्मन् here be interpreted to mean क्रिया action, and the expression शब्दकर्म be rendered as '(verbs) whose action involves sound instead of '(verbs) whose action is sound.'

The interpretation suggested here makes room for stems such as जल्प् , विलप् , आभाष् etc. on one hand and श्रु , ज्ञा, उपलभ्

etc. on the other as 'action' denoted by all these stems involves sound in one way or the other.   The act of 'speaking' as well as 'hearing' obviously involve sound in one way or the other.

Panini's structural statement in the context incorporates all this information. It reads as follows.

कारके गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसानार्थ-शब्दकर्माकर्मकाणाम् अणिकर्ता स णौ कर्म ।
(1452).

It may be interpreted as under.

> "On being कारक, that nominal stem which is कर्तृ of non-causal (transitive) stems signifying 'motion'; 'perception, knowing', 'consuming, eating and drinking' or stems whose action involves sound (शब्दकर्म) and intransitive stems, becomes कर्मन् when in construction with the same stems ending in causative verbalizing affix णि (=इ)." (1452).

Non-mention of co-occurring nominal stems in the statement implies that it is semantically compatible stems that may co-occur with these verbal stems.

(v) Panini notices that कर्तृ of non-causal verb stems ह and कृ in their various meanings, whether covered or not covered by meaning types mentioned in the preceding statement, is represented optionally as कर्मन् when co-occurring with their causal variety, e.g.

देवदत्त: भृत्यं/भृत्येन भारं हारयति ।
देवदत्त: भृत्यं/भृत्येन कटं कारयति ।
देवदत्त: सैन्धवान्/सैन्धवै: तृणम् अभ्यवहारयति ।
देवदत्त: सैन्धवान्/सैन्धवै: विकारयति ।

118

Corresponding non-causal constructions are –

भृत्य: भारं वहति ।

भृत्य: कटं करोति ।

सैन्धवास् तृणम् अभ्यवहरन्ति ।

सैन्धवा: विकुर्वन्ते ।

Panini's structural statement describing such pairs reads as follows.

कारके हकोर् अणि कर्ता स णौ अन्यतरस्यां कर्म । (1453)

It may be interpreted as below.

> "On being कारक, that nominal stem which is कर्तृ of non-causal stem ह and कृ in their various meanings, is represented optionally as कर्मन् , when in construction with these verb stems ending in the causative verbalizing affix णि (=इ)."

In the alternative it denotes कर्तृ as shown in the examples given above.

(vi) Now consider co-occurrence of nominal stems in underlined forms denoting कर्मन् relation with verb stems in construction with them in the following types of utterances.

कथं भवान् <u>माम्</u> अभिक्रुध्यति ।

<u>क्रुध्यन्तं</u> न प्रतिक्रुध्येत् ।

मासम् एकं व्रतं कुर्याद् उपक्रुध्य तथा <u>गुरुम्</u> । (शंख. 17.55)

मा <u>नो</u> मर्ता अभिद्रुहन् ।   (ऋग् . 1.5.10)

"Let no man conspire against us".

Type of pairs illustrated here are.

अस्मद्   अभि-क्रुध्

119

क्रुध्यत्   प्रति-क्रुध्
गुरु   उप-क्रुध्
अस्मद्   अभि-द्रुह्

Nominal stems participating in these pairs denote 'things' 'against whom there is a feeling of resentment in general' expressed by the verb stems क्रुध् and द्रुह् . The कारक relation expressed by these stems is कर्मन् if these stems are preceded by any appropriate उपसर्ग as demonstrated in the utterances cited above. Otherwise it is सम्प्रदान (1437).

Structural statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems as identified in terms of the pragmatic feature stated above and verb stem क्रुध् and द्रुह् preceded by any appropriate उपसर्ग and assignment of कर्मन् designation to nominal stems is formulated as follows.

कारके क्रुधद्रुहोर् उपसृष्टयोः यं प्रति कोपः (सः) कर्म । (1438)

It may be interpreted as below.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things' against whom there is resentment in general expresses कर्मन् when in construction with the verb stems क्रुध् and द्रुह् preceded by appropriate उपसर्ग."

It may be pointed out that the statement under discussion is placed after (1437) just to take advantage of reading in it the expression यं प्रति कोपः from the preceding statement.

(vii)   Consider co-occurrence of nominal stems in the underlined forms, denoting कर्मन् relation, with verb stems in construction with them.

मेदिनीं तदाधिशिष्ये ।

कृतकार्यम् इदं दुर्गं वनं व्यालनिवेशितम् ।

यद् अध्यास्ते महातेजा राम: शस्त्रभृतां वर: ।   (रा. 2.98.13)

"Fortunate (blessed) is this forest, inaccessible and infested with serpents, which is occupied by Rama of great luster and best of the bearers of arms."

अधितिष्ठति वैकुण्ठं हरि: ।

धर्मासनम् अधितिष्ठति नृप: । (cf. धर्मासनम् अधिष्ठाय कार्यदर्शनम् आरभेत)

(शुक्रनीति 4.5.44)

There are only three verb stems found here, namely शी, स्था and आस्, all intransitives, अकर्मक. These are preceded by the उपसर्ग अधि.

Any nominal stem compatible semantically may co-occur with them. Such nominal stems denote 'the thing locus', expressed by the expression आधार by Panini, vis-à-vis the action denoted by these verb stems. Nominal stems, thus, denote अधिकरण कारक when in construction with the intransitive stems शी, स्था and आस्. but when co-occurring with these stems with the उपसर्ग अधि, these denote कर्मन्.

Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of appropriate nominal stems with these stems and ascription of कर्मन् कारक to nominal stems, is formulated as follows.

कारके अधि-शीङ्-स्थासाम् आधार: कर्म । (1446)

It may be rendered as under.

"On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things', that serve as 'locus' of action denoted by verb stems अधि-शीङ् , अधि-स्था and अधि-आस् denote कर्मन् ."

121

(viii) The lonely verb stem विश् preceded by the conjunct उपस र्गs अभि and नि is found in construction with nominal stems compatible semantically with it. Nominal stems denote 'things' that serve as 'locus' of action expressed by विश् . Nominal stems in construction with विश् , thus, denote अधिकरण but when it is preceded by the compound उपसर्ग अभि, नि, these denote कर्मन् .

Panini's structural statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems with this unique verb stem and designating of कर्मन् कारक by it reads as follows.

कारके अभिनिविशश्च आधारः कर्म ।   (1447)

It may be interpreted as under.

 "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things' that serve as 'locus' vis-à-vis the action denoted by अभिनि वश् in construction with them, denote कर्मन् ."

(ix) Again another lonely verb stem, namely वस् , preceded by the उपसर्गs उप, अनु , अधि or आ, is found to co-occur with nominal stems that are compatible semantically with it. Nominal stems denote 'things', that serve as 'locus' vis-à-vis the action denoted by वस् and denote कर्मन् here instead of अ धिकरण.

Following utterances illustrate such pairs. Nominal stems occur in underlined forms.

उपवसति <u>वैकुण्ठं</u> हरि ।
अनेन चैव देहेन <u>लोकांस्</u> त्वम् अनुवत्स्यसे ।   (महा.
13.2.104)
"With this very body you will occupy the (heavenly)

122

world."

अधिवसति वैकुण्ठम् हरि: ।

(दशरथ to कैकेयी)

न कथञ्चिद् ऋते रामाद् भरतो राज्यम् आवसेत् ।   (रा. 2.10.61)

"Without Rama Bharata will not reside in the kingdom in any case."

Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems with it and designating of कर्मन् कारक by them, reads as follows.

कारके उपान्वध्याङ् वस: आधार: कर्म ।   (1448)

It may be interpreted as under.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things', that serve as 'locus' denote कर्मन् when in construction with verb stems उप-वस् , अनु-वस् , अधि-वस् and आ-वस् ."

It may be pointed out that the above three statements, though relating to कर्मन् कारक, are placed in the context of अधिकरण कारक as Panini wants to take advantage of reading into these statements the expression आधार: from the preceding statement (1445) describing अधिकरण.

 (x) We have described above (1442) that nominal stems शर-, परशु-, रथ- etc., in the following constructions denote 'things' considered 'means par excellence' to accomplish actions denoted by verb stems co-occurring with them. These denote करण कारक.

शरेण व्याध: मृगं हन्ति ।

परशुना स: पादपं छिनत्ति ।

रथेन नृप: नगरं याति ।

123

However, nominal stems co-occurring with the verb stem दिव् 'gamble', transitive as well as intransitive', though denoting 'things' regarded as 'best means' of accomplishing the action of 'gambling', denote कर्मन् optionally. e.g.

> युधिष्ठिर: द्रौपदीं दीव्यति ।
> नल: राज्यं दीव्यति ।
> कितव: सर्वस्वं दीव्यति ।

Panini's structural statement describing co-occurrence of nominal stems with the verb stem दिव् and optional representation of कर्मन् कारक by them reads as follows.

> कारके दिव: साधकतमं कर्म च । (1443)

It may be rendered as below.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems denoting 'things' that are 'most efficacious means' of accomplishing of 'gambling' denoted by दिव् , denote optionally कर्मन् ."

6. कर्तृ कारक

Study the following extract.

> जनमेजय: परीक्षित: सह भ्रातृभि: कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रम् उपास्ते ।
> तस्य भ्रातरस् त्रय: श्रुतसेन उग्रसेनो भीमसेन इति ॥ 1 ॥
> तेषु तत्सत्रम् उपासीनेषु तत्र श्वाभ्यागच्छत् सारमेय: ।
> स जनमेजयस्य भ्रातृभिर्अभिहतो रोरूयमाणो मातु: समीपम् उपागच्छत् ॥२॥
> तं माता रोरूयमाणम् उवाच । किं रोदिषि । केनास्यभिहत इति ॥3॥
> स एवम् उक्तो मातरं प्रत्युवाच ।
> जनमेजयस्य भ्रातृभिर् अभिहतो अस्मि इति ॥4॥
> तं माता प्रत्युवाच । व्यक्तं त्वया तत्रापराद्धं येनास्यभिहत इति ॥5॥

124

स तां पुनर् उवाच । नापराध्यामि किंचित् । नावेक्षे हवींषि नावलिह इति ॥6॥

(महाभारत 1.3.1-6)

The above extract contains following कर्तृ type constructions-

जनमेजय: . . . . कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घम् सत्रम् उपास्ते ।

तस्य भ्रातर: . . . . त्रय (आसन्) ।

. . . . तत्र श्वा अभ्यागच्छत् सारमेय: ।

स: . . . . मातु: समीपम् उपागच्छत् ।

तम् माता . . . . उवाच ।

किं रोदिषि ?

स . . . . मातरम् प्रत्युवाच ।

तम् माता प्रत्युवाच ।

स ताम् पुनर् उवाच ।

नापराध्यामि किंचित् ।

नावेक्षे हवींषि ।

नावलेहे (हवींषि) ।

These constructions qua constructions constitute a distinct type. Grammatical agreement in person and number between nominal forms ending in the 1st विभक्ति and verbal forms co-occurring with them characterize these uniquely. Going over language discourses one may come across any number of such constructions.

Nominal and verb stems underlying these forms showing grammatical agreement hold कारक relationships and 1st विभक्ति with nominal stem indicates sameness of कारक relationship in all pairs and its distinctness. Panini chooses to call it कर्तृ. To reiterate nominal stems in co-occurring pairs denote कारक relations in Panini.

125

Co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems in pairs

There are scores and scores of nominal and verb stem pairs denoting कर्तृ कारक. Mere cataloguing these will give no insight into their co-occurrence preferences. We may have to look for features which may enable us to group two or more pairs into a set. As we examine these pairs we find no features, structural, semantic or pragmatic, shared by groups of two or more nominal stems on the one hand and verb stems co-occurring with them on the other reflecting their co-occurrence preferences on the basis of which we could organize these into various sets. Rather we find a sort of structural anarchy, nominal stems co-occurring with any other verb stems. All that is demanded of them is existence of semantic compatibility between them, a general conditioning factor for constituents in any construction, syntactic or morphological. It does not serve as basis for organizing these pairs in any significant way to indicate their freedom of co-occurrence.

We are, thus, left with nominal stems, on the one hand, and verb stems on the other as simple clusters of unrelated individual entities. Any pairing of nominal and verb stems is simply arbitrary and thus non-unique. In a pair neither constituent conditions co-occurrence of the other. Each constituent is completely free to select its partner. Under these circumstances, it seems, there is no way to make any generalized statement describing co-occurrences of nominal and verb stem pairs denoting कर्तृ कारक.

One may see light flicker in this shadowless darkness and be tempted to argue why despair? Let absolute freedom on the part of nominal as well as verb stems be regarded as basis of organizing themselves into pairs. This is what facts of language demonstrate.

126

Panini's statement describing co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems and designating of कर्तृ by nominal stems is formulated accordingly in conformity with linguistic facts. It reads as follows.

कारके स्वतन्त्र: क्रियायोगे कर्ता । (1454)

It may be interpreted as under.

> "On being कारक, nominal stems, 'things, entities' denoted by which are independent (free) in respect of performance of actions denoted by verb stems in construction with them, designate कर्तृ ."

Traditional Interpretation

The earliest extant discussion relating to स्वतन्त्र: कर्ता (1454) is recorded in the महाभाष्य where views of कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि are available. Our presentation below does not refer to their views separately. These are put together as views expressed in the महाभाष्य.

According to the महाभाष्य the statement स्वतन्त्र: कर्ता (1454) may be interpreted as follows

> "The self-dependent (independent) one is called कर्तृ (when it is instrumental in performing an action.)"

To understand how the महाभाष्य comes to interpret the statement as it does, we may have to refer to its discussion of the statement कारके (1423) that provides the necessary background.

This is how it proceeds.

The expression कारक in कारके (1423) is looked upon by the महा

127

भाष्य as a technical term (संज्ञा) mainly for the reason that this occurs in the section of rules dealing with technical terms.

As a technical term it is used in its derivational meanings करोति इति "one that performs an action."

The statement कारके (1423) denotes अधिकार and is, thus, read in the statements that follow it (1424-54).

How is it construed in these statements?

The महाभाष्य connects it syntactically with the expressions ध्रुवम् etc. in these statements. To understand how it is interpreted there we may consider the utterance वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति 'The leaf falls from the tree' illustrating the statement (1424).

'The thing tree' denoted by the nominal stem वृक्ष participates in the performance of the act of 'falling' denoted by पत् . It is, thus, कारक in terms of the definition of the महाभाष्य given above.

Now being कारक, the nominal stem वृक्ष receives the designation अपादान.

It may be pointed out that there is no direct link between कारक and अपादान in the statement (1424). The technical designations अपादान etc., are applied only to such nominal stems which participate in performance of action denoted by verb stems co-occurring with them in syntactic constructions. Such nominal stems happen to be कारक though.

The nominal stems वृक्ष when not participating in performance of any action is not called कारक and thus does not receive the designation अपादान as in वृक्षस्य पर्णम् पतति 'The leaf of a tree falls.'

128

The position taken here by the महाभाष्य may be summed up as follows. The term कारक is interpreted as संज्ञा, it is defined in its derivational meaning, it functions as अधिकार in the statement कारके (1423); and is construed with the expression ध्रुवम् etc. It is not linked directly with the technical designations अपादान etc.

The महाभाष्य by its interpretation of the term कारक and the statement कारके (1423) in which it occurs, as given above, it appears, lands itself unwittingly into an anomalous situation. On the one hand, it declares कारक as संज्ञा, a technical term merely on the basis that it is found in the section dealing with technical designations. (संज्ञाधिकारश्चायं तत्र किमन्यच्छक्यम् विज्ञातुम् अन्यद् अत: संज्ञाया: -- This is a section dealing with technical terms. In this section what else other than a technical term can be understood (by the expression कारक)).

True, the section of rules referred to by the महाभाष्य contains a good many technical terms, संज्ञा. Panini however, it seems, is concerned here in particular with the resolution of the problem of simultaneous application of two or more technical designations by the same item. Thus he provides that in case of such a conflict only one designation which is mentioned in the latter rule applies (141-2).

The section of rules does not provide what term denotes or does not denote a technical term. To affirm that कारक in कारके (1423) is संज्ञा, the महाभाष्य has to show that it is introduced here as a संज्ञा. (संज्ञाs in Panini as a rule are introduced in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति). Mere mention of an item in this section does not grant it the status of a technical term. Or it must demonstrate that Panini employs कारक as a technical term

here as well as elsewhere in his grammar.

Even if we agree with the महाभाष्य that कारक is a technical term, it seems to undermine its technical status by defining it in terms of its derivational meanings and equating it with the expression क्रिया 'action'. It treats it, thus, as an expression of common parlance. (अथवा यावद् ब्रूयात् क्रियायाम् इति तावत् कारक इति- Or whatsoever one may say by क्रियायाम् 'in connection with action', that much one may say by कारके 'when it participates in performance of action.)'

By equating कारके with क्रियायाम् , the महाभाष्य seems to reject finally the use of the term कारक as a technical term. And on this score it finds justification for the use of the statement कार के with the 7th विभक्ति singular. Otherwise, it observes one may use कारकेषु 'among the कारकs (एवं च कृत्वा निर्देश उपपन्नो भवति कारक इति । इतरथा हि कारकेषु इति ब्रूयात्).

We may also refer in this context to the views of later commentators of Panini. The काशिका and other grammarians that follow it take exception to the महाभाष्य for treating कारक initially as संज्ञा. The statement कारके (1423) is interpreted as अधिकार for being a qualifier (विशेषण) and not a संज्ञा. The काशि का construed it with अपादान etc., and not with ध्रुवम् etc. [कारके इति विशेषणम् अपादानादि संज्ञाविषयम् अधिक्रियते । (काशिका on 1423)]. As qualifier कारके restricts the range of अपादान etc. only to such nominal stems that participate in performance of an action.

We have discussed this issue and pointed out that all along Panini uses कारक as a technical term and use of the 7th विभक्ति with it in the statement (1423) is with a purpose.

130

Dichotomy of कारकs into स्वतन्त्र and परतन्त्र

Defining कारक in terms of its etymological meanings as 'one who performs (an action)- करोति इति, lands the महाभाष्यकार into very serious difficulty.

One of the six कारकs is designated by Panini as कर्तृ , an expression synonymous derivationally with कारक (31133). He finds himself diffident in applying the term कारक in its etymological sense to कारकs other than कर्तृ . However, he tries to wriggle out of the scrape by suggesting, just in all earnestness, that the terms अपादान etc. are also कर्तृ . He actually undertakes to demonstrate that देवदत्त, स्थाली, 'a pot', काष्ठ 'wood' (he does not include, however, ओदन 'rice') in देवदत्त : स्थाल्यां काष्ठैर् ओदनं पचति 'Devadatta cooks rice in a pot by means of wood', though designated as कर्तृ , अधिकरण and करण respectively, all denote कर्तृ also in its technical sense. He argues as follows.

The act of 'cooking' is composite in nature comprising several different aspects of activities (क्रियाभेद) pursued by different entities severally. In case of देवदत्त: action of 'cooking' consists in performance of the acts of 'placing' of the pot on the hearth, 'pouring' of water into it, 'putting' of rice there and 'supplying' of wood; in case of स्थाली of 'containing' and of 'holding' a particular quantity of rice and in case of काष्ठ of 'burning'.

The महाभाष्य, thus, justifies use of such expressions as देवदत्त: पचति 'Devadatta cooks', स्थाली पचति 'The pot cooks', and काष्ठानि पचन्त 'The wood cooks' to bring out expressly these 'aspects' of 'cooking' by different entities. It is asserted that in

131

executing their respective performances देवदत्त, स्थाली and काष्ठ stand at par structurally.   Each one is independent in performing its action.   One does not look to the other in performance of its task.

Granted that each of the various entities viz. देवदत्त, स्थाली and काष्ठ carry on their tasks independently, unhampered. Nevertheless it is assumed all along that these entities are participating in a corporate activity.   Their actions are not regarded as unrelated individual performances. Rather these are considered to be heading towards a single goal i.e. that of 'cooking'.   And in this respect actions of स्थाली and काष्ठ are geared to augmenting देवदत्त's efforts.   He is the one who initiates, guides, controls and coordinates their activities.   It is under these circumstances that देवदत्त is regarded a <u>free</u> doer of actions.   The rest of them, the स्थाली and काष्ठ, look to him to be able to perform their respective actions. These are, thus, not independent. They are <u>dependent</u> on him.

The महाभाष्य finally reconciles to the situation by conceding that स्थाली and काष्ठ are dependent, परतन्त्र only when these co-occur (i.e. work) with देवदत्त and independent, स्वतन्त्र, otherwise when carrying out their respective actions separate from him.   In this context the analogy of the king and his ministers is invoked. The ministers are not independent, स्वतन्त्र, in performance of their duties when the king is present there, but they are independent, स्वतन्त्र, when away from him.

In the statement स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता (1454), thus, according to the interpretation of the महाभाष्य, Panini asserts independence of

132

कर्तृ vis-à-vis other कारकs. The statement is accordingly interpreted as follows.

> "The independent one (स्वतन्त्र:), is कर्तृ (कर्ता) when it participates in performance of action (कारके)."

The discussion in the महाभाष्य reported here in bare outline is replete with hairsplitting argumentation and subtle reasoning which characterizes later day polemics.

The views of the महाभाष्य are echoed and re-echoed in the later commentatorial literature and other related works from generation to generation elaborated, amplified and refined in the light of contemporary developments in related fields of inquiry. Even to this day the same tendency persists. Developments, more particularly in the fields of linguistics and semantics, are reflected in interpretations of Panini.

A critique of the महाभाष्य

In our efforts to understand and interpret any segment of Panini's structural description of the language, we try to relate it to linguistic data relevant in the context. Survey and scrutiny of such data provides us helpful insight into formulation of particular structural statements, their organization and interpretation. In the present study of कर्तृ कारक we have followed the same practice. Our interpretation of his statement स्वतन्त्र: कर्ता (1454) is in conformity with our survey and examination of linguistic data. It also fits into his overall design of कारक treatment.

On the other hand, the presentation of the महाभाष्य of कारकs in general, and that of कर्तृ in particular, goes counter to facts

of language and militates against Panini's general scheme of कारक treatment. Following observation will make it clear.

(i) The term कारक is introduced by Panini in (1423). Six varieties of it are described under it. These are referred to again in (3319). Obviously, Panini employs कारक as a technical term (संज्ञा) all through in his grammar.

The महाभाष्य, on the other hand, is hardly certain if कारक is a technical term. He does accept it as a संज्ञा at one time. But soon he shifts his grounds and ultimately he is satisfied by treating it as an expression of common parlance equivalent to क्रिया 'action'.

It seems much before his times tradition of studies of Panini had been lost.

(ii) It is true that the term कारक is not defined in Panini. But from his statements relating to various कारकs (1424-54) and elsewhere in his grammar, it is clear that he recognizes कारक as one type of syntactic relationship that holds between nominal and verb stems co-occurring in syntactic constructions. It is, however, designated by nominal stems. For instance, शिशु- and दुग्ध in शिशुः दुग्धं पिबति denote respectively कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारकs (cf. 33119; 5442; 62139 etc).

Moreover, कारक as a syntactic relation has to be distinguished from non-कारक relations obtaining between nominal and verb stems (235-6,2323, etc.). This provides enough information with regard to the nature of कारक relationship. Keeping that in view we have defined the

134

term in terms of pragmatics of its relationships.

The महाभाष्य, on the other hand, silently ignores all this information. Rather it chooses to characterize the notion of कारक in terms of its derivation which is hardly a reliable way of defining technical items.

By defining कारक the way he does, he finds it hard to relate it to अपादान, etc. which are recognized by Panini as varieties of कारक. The महाभाष्य is also hard put to explicate use of कारक to indicate one or more of its varieties in various statements in Panini (5442).

(iii) It is surprising to find that the महाभाष्य misses altogether to notice the uniform and identical pattern of formulation to which these statements conform and its consequent significance in interpreting them. We believe this pattern of formulation is designed intentionally to bring out co-occurring phenomenon of nominal and verb stem pairs and highlight formal characteristic features of respective कारकs.

(iv) Statements read under कारके (1423) divide into six groups. Each group describes sets of nominal and verb stem pairs specific to respective कारकs reflecting freedom of their co-occurrence.

The महाभाष्य does not seem to acknowledge that such information regarding co-occurrence of nominal and verb stems denoting कारक relationships is so vital and fundamental. The महाभाष्य is, thus, inconsistent and casual in its interpretation of these statements. At times its explications are unrealistic, farfetched, fantastic and confusing (1424-31, 51, 54).

135

(v) In this context one may expect an answer to the questions how Panini comes to identify various कारकs and arrive at co-occurring pairs specific to each कारक.

These questions are tied together. Panini is silent about them. However, a careful examination of these statements reveals that analysis of relevant कर्तृ type of constructions forms basis of identification of various कारकs and labeling of co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs specific to each कारक.

Nominal stems followed by particular विभक्ति co-occurring with verb stems, roots or derivatives, indicate distinct कारक types. And all along co-occurring pairs for each कारक type also stand identified.

Each कारक type is, thus, indicated uniquely by विभक्ति type following nominal stems.   Inflectional affixes after verb stems, it may be pointed out, have no structural role to play here. Each कारक is identified independently of one another. No mix-up among them is possible.

The महाभाष्य does not raise these questions. Rather it sets up a dichotomy of स्वतन्त्र, independent and परतन्त्र, dependent among कारकs. The कर्तृ कारक is regarded as स्वतन्त्र and all others as परतन्त्र, dependent on it.

There is no apparent grammatical motivation to justify and sustain such a dichotomy. We do not find any structural explications in Panini in terms of these notions.

(vi) We shall like to consider the utterance देवदत्तः स्थाल्यां काष्ठै र् ओदनं पचति once again.

136

Here four different pairs of nominal and verb stems are found to occur, namely देवदत्त–पच् , स्थाली–पच् , काष्ठ–पच् and ओदन–पच् . The fact that पच् is common to all of these is of little structural significance.

Each of these pairs belongs to a distinct group specific to respective कारक variety as described by Panini in (1424-54). And, thus, each pair denotes a distinct कारक type independent of all others. देवदत्त — पच् denotes कर्तृ, स्थाली — पच् अधिकरण, काष्ठ — पच् करण and ओदन — पच कर्मन् .

It makes no sense to seek any sort of relationships among कारकs denoted by pairs, specific to each one of them.

Thus dichotomy of स्वतन्त्र, independent and परतन्त्र, dependent does not stand scrutiny and hence not acceptable.

(vii)   We fail to understand in what sense वृक्ष (अपादान) is dependent on पर्ण (कर्तृ) in वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति 'The leaf falls from the tree'; हृदेश (अधिकरण) on ईश्वर (कर्तृ) in ईश्वर: सर्वभूतानां हृदेशे तिष्ठति 'The God resides in the heart of all creatures'; जल (करण) and पादप (कर्मन्) on मालाकार (कर्तृ) in मालाकार: जलेन पादपान् सिञ्चति 'The gardener waters the plants with water'; वियत् (अधिकरण) on तारक (कर्तृ) in वियति तारकाणि दीव्यन्ति 'Stars shine in the sky'; देवता (सम्प्रदान) and अन्न (कर्मन्) on गृहमेधिन् (कर्तृ) in गृहमेधिनो देवताभ्यो ऽन्नं सम्प्रकिरन्ति 'The household offers food to family deities', and so on.

Linguistic usage does not uphold the interpretation of the महाभाष्य, as syntactic relations, अपादान and others do not lean on कर्तृ to sustain themselves. Each कारक, it may be claimed, functions   as   a   self-constituted   and   self-control   unit

independent of one another.

ॐ **Chapter 5**

Dependency relationships among कारकs

For their role in linguistic structure of a language a linguist assigns names to linguistic items, processes etc. For ease of manipulation of such items and processes in his description of the language.

Such names, called technical terms, are linguist's tools for easy and efficient manipulation of linguistic data in his structural description of the language concerned.

In his grammar of Sanskrit language, the अष्टाध्यायी, Panini makes use of a little more than two hundred such technical terms, संज्ञाs. Usually domain of each term is well defined. However, an item playing multiple structural roles may be entitled to receive two or more technical names, संज्ञा. The linguistic element तव्य, for instance, is called variously प्रत्यय, कृत् and कृत्य reflecting its different roles. As pointed out by कैयट on his comments on the महाभाष्य on 141. The purpose of designating तव्य as प्रत्यय is to entitle the verb stem preceding it to be called अङ्ग (1413), as कृत् to enable the grammatical formation ending in it as प्रातिपदिक (1246) and कृत्य to allow it to express कर्मन् कारक (3470). (This is with reference to the examples कर्तव्य and हर्तव्य cited in the महाभाष्य).

Here each role of the linguistic item तव्य is distinct and unambiguous. Assignment of respective names, संज्ञा, to it in accordance with each role is understandable. Use of different संज्ञाs for it brings clarity to structural description of

the linguistic phenomenon involved.

However, roles of linguistic items are always not so definite and distinguishable. There may be overlapping in their roles. Consequently a conflict may arise in application of respective grammatical operations triggered by each of the technical names. The following discussion illustrates such a situation.

Linguistic expressions provided technical names-अङ्ग, पद and भ are described respectively in (1413), (1414-17) and (1418-20). The various sets of affixes before which linguistic expressions receive these designations may be mixed up in a crisscross way.

The expression सेवते ending in the affix ते denotes पद unambiguously (1414). On the other hand, सेव before ते and सेव् before अ denote अङ्ग simply (1413).

Now consider derivation of तपस्विन् 'an ascetic' from the underlying string तपस् - विन् . The expression तपस् here receives two designations simultaneously since the affix विन् exhibits conditioning factors before which an expression is प द and भ as well.

The statement (1417) lays down that on expression occurring before affixes beginning with सु (412) and ending with कप् (54151) excluding सर्वनामस्थान is पद. The affix विन् is included in this group, thus तपस् is पद.

The statement (1419), on the other hand, states that an expression ending in त् or स् before an affix denoting the meaning of मतुप् (5294), is called भ. Thus तपस् ending in स् before विन् which expresses the meaning of मतुप् is called भ

140

(52102).

Now the string तपस् - विन् is subjected to two different types of phonological operations triggered by पद and भ. A पद-final सु is replaced by the element रु (8266). After a non-प्लु त अ and before a voiced consonant रु is replaced by उ (61112). The उ combined with the preceding अ emerges as ओ. Thus तपस्-विन् is realized as तपोविन् , a form not attested in the language. Thus by treating तपस् as पद, an undesired form is produced.

The expression तपस् treated as भ does not invoke any phonological operation. The affix विन् is attached directly to it to give us the correct form तपस्विन् .

Panini is here working within a system evolved by him where one and the same entity receives two or more designations. But to produce the correct form he has to manipulate with the designation which is effective. Thus he has a built-in device in the system to select the right designation which subjected to grammatical processes produces the acceptable form. What is that mechanism?

Panini describes a number of technical terms (including पद and भ) in the section of his grammar beginning with (143) and ending with (2238).

Technical terms, संज्ञा, described in this section are

नदी, घि, लघु, गुरु, अङ्ग, पद, भ, बहुवचन, द्विवचन, एकवचन, कारक, अपादान, सम्प्रदान, करण, अधिकरण, कर्मन् , कर्तृ , हेतु , निपात , उपसर्ग , गति, कर्म वचनीय, परस्मैपद, आत्मनेपद, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तम, विभक्ति, संहिता, अवसान, समास, अव्ययीभाव, तत्पुरुष, द्विगु,बहुव्रीहि, द्वन्द्व . These are 36 in all.

This group of technical terms is a deliberate choice on the

part of Panini keeping an eye on their structural interrelationships. He arranges these in a particular order. He states just at the beginning of this section that linguistic entities referred to here will receive only one technical name, संज्ञा, (141) and in case an entity happens to receive two or more names, the one described in a later statement will prevail (142). Thus the order provided to statements in this section is significant structurally.

In Panini's tradition of interpretation, however, it is acknowledged that provision of (142) does not hold good in case of rules interrelated as उत्सर्ग-अपवाद नित्य-अनित्य and अन्तरङ्ग-बहिरङ्ग.

In this background we shall like to examine below how far present order of कारक statements (1423-55) help us resolve our problem of application of appropriate grammatical rules if any item (nominal stem) receives simultaneously assignment of two or more कारक designations.

The question has received full attention from कात्यायन whose views are preserved in the महाभाष्य along with पतञ्जलि's comments and explanations. Later commentators of Pāṇini show agreement (largely) with कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि and offer sometimes further explanations in the light of contemporary state of developments in the field of grammar and other related disciplines.

We have shown above that कारक relations obtain between nominal and verb stems co-occurring in pairs in syntactic constructions and that nominal stems denote कारक.

The statements (1424-54), read under कारके (1423), describe sets of such pairs specific to each कारक variety.

Since nominal and verb stems in each set are characterized uniquely respectively, there has to be no overlapping among these pairs. Thus the question of a nominal stem receiving two or more कारक designations does not arise. Nonetheless, we discuss below instances where a nominal stem denoting कारक receives two or more designations according to कात्यायन.

1.   अपादान set aside by later कारकs

कात्यायन has a कारिका on (141) which reads - अपादानम् उत्तराणि-धनुषा विध्यति, कंस पात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते:, गां दोग्धि:, धनुर् विध्यतीति । (30).

In this कारिका he maintains that अपादान described in 1424 etc., is set aside by कारकs discussed in later statements. He cites a few examples in support of his contention. We may discuss each one of these here.

(a)   अपादान set aside by करण

Take the construction धनुषा विध्यति which is interpreted as 'He pierces (the deer) with a bow'.

कात्यायन assumes that the nominal stem धनुष् denotes here simultaneously two कारक relations viz. अपादान and करण. A structural crisis is, thus, created. Both nomenclatures seek simultaneous application of grammatical rules triggered by each one of them. That is not feasible.

To crossover such inconvenient situations Panini sets up a convention and is claimed to have given deliberately a linear order to his कारक rules in conformity with this convention. The convention lays down that in case of headlong conflict of simultaneous application of

grammatical rules triggered by two or more designations ascribed to one and the same entity, the one that is described in a latter statement is to prevail (142). Thus here in the conflict between अपादान and करण, both claiming to designate simultaneously धनुष् , करण being described in a latter statement (1442) sets aside अपादान described in (1424).

Let us review the linguistic situation here. The nominal stem धनुष् meaning 'a bow' co-occurring with व्यध् meaning 'to pierce' expresses neither अपादान nor करण. It should be so clear to कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि as it is to any speaker of the language that it is the 'arrow, शर', that alone is capable of performing the act of 'piercing'.

And there is no explicit mention of 'arrow-शर' in the construction under discussion. It is present here by implication. To invoke implied presence of linguistic elements to explicate structural relationships is a questionable analytical procedure.

कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि working on a conceptual level associate the 'arrow-शर' with धनुष् which they regard as fixed point, ध्रुव, for it 'to move away'. Thus धनुष् denotes अपादान.

Such an explication lands us elsewhere. Instead of investigating कारक relationships between धनुष् and व्यध् , we find ourselves grappling with a new co-occurring pair, namely धनुष् and a verb stem meaning 'moving away'. We get into a deeper mess. The fact of the matter is that no ingenuity can set up अपादान relationship between धनुष् and व्यध् .

And to assign करण relation to धनुष् while co-occurring with व्यध्

they seem to conceptually identify धनुष् with 'an arrow-शर'. But again it is creating a myth. In reality धनुष् denoting 'a bow' can in no way serve as 'the most effective means' 'of performing the act of piercing'. Thus no करण relation can be assigned to धनुष् .

For a native speaker धनुषा विध्यति is a commonplace usage in the sense 'he pierces (the deer) with his bow - the bow fitted with an arrow.' Panini will have no hesitation in recognizing धनुष् (fitted with an arrow, शर) here as 'the most efficacious means' of performing the act of piercing and thus assigning it the designation करण. It is not entitled to receive अपादान or any other designation. The claim of कात्यायन is, thus not sustained.

In this context we shall like to refer to the construction काष्ठं भिद्यते. It is a complex construction. However, structurally it exhibits कर्तृवाच्य pattern. The nominal stem काष्ठ holds कर्तृ relation vis-à-vis भिद् . Likewise धनुषा विध्यति, though a complex construction belong to the कर्तृ type and धनुष् holds करण relation with व्यध् .

(b)   अपादान set aside by अधिकरण

To demonstrate that अपादान is set aside by अधिकरण, कात्यायन adduces the example कंसपात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते 'He is eating in the brass vassal.'

It is claimed that कंसपात्री co-occurring with भुज् here receives simultaneously the designations अपादान and अधिकरण.

पतञ्जलि comments that कंसपात्री being associated with the action of 'moving away' denotes अपादान and for 'being locus' it

denotes अधिकरण.

Probably पतञ्जलि argues in his mind that 'eating' involves lifting of food from the vassal and thus it denotes अपादान. And on the other hand, it denotes अधिकरण since it is locus of the act of eating.

Simultaneous assignment of two designations to कंसपात्री creates a conflict in application of rules triggered by each one respectively.   In terms of the convention (142), the designation अपादान is superseded by अधिकरण which is described latter in (1445).

In the construction cited above there is no verb stem denoting 'lifting up, picking up' found to co-occur with कंसपात्री . The only verb stem with which it co-occurs is भुज् . Thus vis-à-vis the act of 'eating', कंसपात्री can play the role of 'locus' and thus qualifies to be assigned the designation अधिकरण. There is no linguistic evidence to assign अपादान relation to it. The question of ascription of two designations to कंसपात्री and suppression of one in favor of the other, thus, does not arise.

(c)   अपादान set aside by कर्मन्

To illustrate conflict of अपादान with कर्मन् , कात्यायन cites the construction गां दोग्धि 'He milks the cow'.

Commenting on this, पतञ्जलि points out that being construed with a verb denoting 'movement away' गो denotes अपादान. The co-occurring verb stem दुह् is interpreted to mean 'extract from.' At the same time it is claimed that गो denotes कर्मन् being 'desired most' vis-à-vis the action of दुह् . Two names are, thus, assigned to one entity simultaneously. The

146

कर्मन् application prevails as it is described in a latter statement (1449).

We, however, feel this is not the correct interpretation of the situation. The construction गां दोग्धि is rather a well-formed construction in its own right where गो denotes only कर्मन् (1449).   And गां दोग्धि पयः is another well-informed construction alternating with गोः दोग्धि पयः (1451).

In the face of this linguistic evidence to postulate two roles viz. अपादान and कर्मन् for गो in गां दोग्धि is simple travesty of facts. The proposal of कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि lacks any grammatical motivation even at theoretical level.

(d)   अपादान set aside by कर्तृ

The construction धनुर् विध्यति 'The bow pierces (the deer)' is cited by कात्यायन to claim that धनुष् here denotes simultaneously अपादान and कर्तृ .   And कर्तृ being mentioned later (1454) sets aside अपादान.   The correct form is thus produced.

The expression धनुष् co-occurring with व्यध् shows semantic incompatibility. 'The bow' is simply incapable of performing the task of 'piercing.'

To explicate syntactic role of धनुष् vis-à-vis the action denoted by the co-occurring verb stem, it appears, both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि proceed on the assumption that there is an arrow, शर which moves away from 'the bow' and accomplishes the act of 'piercing'.   In the situation as visualized by them they happily assign the role of 'fixed point-अपाय' to धनुष् and thus designate धनुष् as अपादान. And the arrow discharged from 'the bow' is free to 'pierce' (the

deer)'. The role played by 'arrow' is assigned to 'the bow' and it is designated as कर्तृ .

The construction धनुर् विध्यति is an accepted usage in the language. The expression धनुष् here signifies 'a bow fitted with an arrow.' Such 'a bow' is free to perform the act of 'piercing' and is, thus, assigned the role of कर्तृ कारक (1454).

Thus the claim of कात्यायन made in the कारिका (30) does not stand scrutiny. Postulation of अपादान कारक is not supported by linguistic facts. Thus करण, अधिकरण and कर्तृ are the only कारक relations obtaining in the constructions cited by him, (see also S.D. Joshi and Roodbergen, 1975; The vyākarana Mahābhāsya, kārakāhnika, Poona, Introduction Page 10, 1.6.1)

2.   सम्प्रदान set aside by   कर्मन्

क्रुध् द्रुहोर् उपसृष्टयोः कर्म सम्प्रदानम् (31).

In the above कारिका कात्यायन refers to such constructions as देवदत्तम् अभि-क्रुध्यति 'He is angry towards देवदत्त'; देवदत्तम् अभि-द्रुह्यति 'He harms देवदत्त' etc. which involve verb stems क्रुध् and द्रुह् preceded by उपसर्गs.

कात्यायन postulates that देवदत्त here receives two designation viz. सम्प्रदान by (1437) and कर्मन् by (1438). The designation सम्प्रदान is set aside by कर्मन् being described in the latter statement (1438). According to him the correct construction is thus produced.

कात्यायन seems to miss the meanings of the statement (1438) as intended by Panini. It is an exception to (1437). It reads as follows.

(कारके) क्रुधद्रुहोर् उपसृष्टयो: (यं प्रति कोप:) कर्म (भवति) ।

It may be rendered as.

> "On being कारक, nominal stem denoting one against whom anger is felt expresses कर्मन् when co-occurring with verb stems क्रुध् 'be angry' and द्रुह् 'harm, injure' preceded by उपसर्गs."

Thus देवदत्त co-occurring with अभिक्रुध् and अभि-द्रुह् in the constructions given above denotes कर्मन् only.

On the other hand there is no linguistic evidence for कात्यायन to show that देवदत्त expresses सम्प्रदान as well.

Why does कात्यायन put forth such a claim at all ?

Maybe, he argues in his mind since the constructions देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति etc. and देवदत्तम् अभि-क्रुध्यति are equivalent semantically, देवदत्त basically holds the same syntactic relationship i.e. सम्प्रदान in both the constructions. Also he notices that देवदत्त is characterized in the same terms i.e. यं प्रतिकोप: in both constructions. It appears reasonable to him to assign the same label to it in both constructions.

Since Panini unequivocally assigns only one designation i.e. कर्मन् to देवदत्त while co-occurring with the verb stem अभिक्रुध् etc., कात्यायन takes resort to the convention spelt in (142) to get rid of सम्प्रदान and arrive at the correct usage.

To us it appears a futile exercise on the part of कात्यायन. In fact कात्यायन (and also पतञ्जलि) does not appear to concede earnestly that कारक relations obtain between nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems and particular कारक relations are identified by unique sets of environments in which these

co-occurring pairs are found to occur. He does not seem to recognize that the pairs देवदत्त - क्रुध् etc. and देवदत्त - अभिक्रुध् etc. belong to <u>two</u> different structural groups and differ in their syntactic behaviors although semantically they are synonymous. These occur in different sets of environments. For instance, elsewhere in another set of environments, we have देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यते etc. and देवदत्तः अभिक्रुध्यते etc. corresponding to those given above.

We are not sure what considerations led कात्यायन to formulate the above कारिका. We however, fail to discover any structural evidence in support of it. And there is no grammatical motivation either.

(3)   करण   set aside by later designations

करणं पराणि, साध्वसि च्छिनन्ति । (32)

In this कारिका कात्यायन states that कारकs described in latter rules supersede करण (1442). To support this he cites the illustration साध्वसिच्छिनन्ति 'the sword cuts well'. To this पतञ्जलि adds धनुर् विध्य ति 'the bow pierces (the deer).'

कात्यायन has in mind that धनुष् and असि here denote करण as well as कर्तृ . And कर्तृ being described in a latter statement (1454) sets aside करण.

The कारक relations, as we know, obtain between co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs in syntactic constructions. And there are no structural constraints on identical pairs to participate in two or more different sets of environments and denote different कारक relations. The nominal and verb stem pair हस्त - पीड् , in the construction हस्तेन हस्तं पीडयति 'He

presses (his) hand with (his) hand'; occurs in two environments and denotes करण in one and कर्मन् in another. Likewise वृक्ष - पत् denotes अपादान in वृक्षात् पर्णं पतति and कर्तृ in वृक्षः भूमौ पतति. And so on.

The nominal and verb stem pair असि - छिद् occurs similarly in two different sets of environments. In असिना छिनत्ति it denotes करण and in असिः छिनत्ति it denotes कर्तृ . It is <u>two</u> different <u>role</u>s of असि that matter in assignment of <u>two</u> different कारकs. Lexical identity is of little consequence.

There are no dependency relationships here in कारक denoted by असि and धनुष् co-occurring with छिद् and व्यध् respectively in two different environments. The question of one setting aside the other does not arise. कात्यायन's claim that असि and धनुष् denote simultaneously करण and कर्तृ is not maintainable.

(4)   अधिकरण set aside by कर्मन्

अधिकरणं कर्म, गेहं प्रविशति । (33)

To show that कर्मन् sets aside अधिकरण, कात्यायन gives the example गेहं प्रविशति 'He enters the house' implying that गेहे प्रविशति is also available in the same meaning. The nominal and verb stem pair गेह - प्रविश् occurs in two different sets of environments and is thus entitled to receive two different कारक designations. Thus both the constructions i.e. गेहे प्रविशति and गेहं प्रविशति are well formed and correct.

A conflict arises only when an entity receives two designations in one and the same set of environments. Here the stem pairs occur in two different sets of environments.

151

The conflict seen by कात्यायन is, thus, illusory.

We may adduce here a few more examples illustrating कर्मन् and अधिकरण कारक denoted by nominal stems co-occurring with विश् or प्रविश् etc.

अग्निर् वाग् भूत्वा मुखं प्राविशत् ।   (ऐतरेयोपनिषद् 1.2.4)

संविशति आत्मा आत्मना आत्मानम् ...... ।   (माण्डूक्य. 1.23.12)

कुलिङ्गां प्राविशन् पुरीम् ।   (रा. 2.68.16)

भारुण्डं प्राविशद् वनम् ।   (रा. 2.71.5)

सर्वाणि ह वा अस्मिन् भूतानि विशन्ति ।   (बृ. 4.12.1)

यस्यानुवित्तः प्रतिबुद्ध आत्मा अस्मिन् संदेह्ये गहने प्रविष्टः । (बृ. 4.4.13)
`Whose self, fully realized and completely known, has entered the perilous and inaccessible place (the body)'
अप्सु प्रवेश्य तं दण्डं वरुणायोपपादयेत् ।
श्रुतवृत्तोपपन्ने वा ब्राह्मणे प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ (मनु. 9.244)
'Entering in the water, he (the king) should offer that fine (realized from great sinners) to वरुण or he should give it to the ब्राह्मण possessed of learning and good conduct'.
न हि सुप्तस्य सिंहस्य मुखे प्रविशन्ति मृगाः । (See however, उद्योत on this कारिका.)

(5)   अधिकरण   set aside by   कर्तु

अधिकरणं कर्ता, स्थाली पचति । (34)

कात्यायन maintains that in the construction स्थाली पचति 'The pot cooks', स्थाली denotes the कारक distinctions अधिकरण and कर्तु. Both seek application. Thus there is a conflict between them. The कर्तु being mentioned in a latter statement (1454) sets aside अधिकरण. The correct construction स्थाली पचति is thus produced.

कात्यायन bases his interpretation on the belief that the same nominal and verb stem pairs cannot belong to two structural groups and occur in two mutually exclusive environments characterizing respective कारक distinctions.

Here the nominal stem स्थाली is one of the constituents of the co-occurring pair स्थाली - पच् . The 'thing' denoted by it plays two different roles vis-à-vis action of 'cooking' denoted by पच् , the other constituent of the pair. Once 'the thing स्थाली 'serves as 'locus' of act of 'cooking' and receives the कारक designation अधिकरण. Thus we have the construction स्थाल्यां पचति. 'He cooks in the pot'.

On the other hand, स्थाली - पच् also belongs to another structural group of pairs. Such a group comprises nominal stems 'things, entities' denoted by which are free in performance of 'action' denoted by any co-occurring verb stem, compatible semantically. Such nominal stems denote कर्तृ कारक.   And स्थाली co-occurring with पच् is one such nominal stem. Thus it denotes कर्तृ in स्थाली पचति.

The two constructions, under discussion here are structurally independent of one another. There is no dependency relationship between them.   The question of any sort of conflict between designations received by स्थाली viz. अधिकरण and कर्तृ thus, does not arise. We do not agree with कात्यायन to assign two designations to स्थाली occurring in the construction स्थाली पचति and eliminate one to arrive at the construction. The two designations are assigned to स्थाली as it occurs in <u>two</u> different constructions as shown above.

(6)   अधिकरण   set aside by कर्मन्

अध्युपसृष्टं कर्म । (35)

In this कारिका कात्यायन refers to setting aside of अधिकरण by कर्मन्
expressed by nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems शी
'lie down', स्था 'stay' and आस् 'sit' preceded by the उपसर्ग अधि
(1446) and other verb stems and उपसर्गs as specified in
(1447-48).

He believes that ग्राम 'a village', for instance, in the
constructions ग्रामम् अधिशेते 'He sleeps in the village'; ग्रामम् अधितिष्ठ
ति 'He stays in the village' and ग्रामम् अध्यास्ते 'He settles in the
village', denotes simultaneously two कारक relations, namely
अधिकरण and कर्मन् by (1445) and (1446) respectively.

And because of assignment of two कारक designations to the
same entity, a conflict arises with regard to their
application. The designation अधिकरण is dropped in favor of
कर्मन् which prevails as it is prescribed in a latter rule (1446).

It may be pointed out that structural statements (1446-48)
are exceptions to (1445). And Panini assigns in very certain
terms कर्मन् relation to nominal stems that play the role of
'locus' vis-à-vis verb stems preceded by these उपसर्गs. The
question of assignment of another कारक relation, namely अधि
करण, to them does not arise even remotely.

We do not understand what motivates कात्यायन to prefer two
कारक relationships for one and the same entity just to
eliminate one of these finally. It serves no grammatical
purpose. The correct constructions get produced by just
following the procedure laid down in Panini's rules.

Our discussion above of constructions cited by कात्यायन to
illustrate conflict of two कारक designations assigned to one

and the same item (nominal stem) in identical environments does not stand scrutiny. The question that one, described in a latter statement, sets aside the other, therefore, does not arise.   And the claim that the present order of कारक statements is intended to prevent applications of two designations given to a particular item in the same environments also falls through along with. For the raison de'tre of order of कारक statements we may have to look elsewhere. We shall discuss the question in a latter section.

Alternate Application

On the other hand कात्यायन cites instances of statements which assign to one and the same item two designations which find application <u>alternately</u>. We may examine these below.

In this context कात्यायन has a कारिका which reads as follows.

गति-दिव: कर्म-हेतुमत्सु च ग्रहणम् । (6).

It refers to three of Panini's structural statements read in this section. Two of these relate to कारकs. We shall notice these here.

(a)   The expression दिव: कर्म in the कारिका alludes to the statement दिव: कर्म च (1443) which follows immediately after साधकतमं करणम् (1442). It is usually rendered as below.

> "Nominal stems denoting the 'most effective means' for accomplishing the action denoted by दिव् 'gamble' co-occurring with them, denote कर्मन् as well as करण कारक relations."

Examples given are.

155

    i.   देवदत्तः अक्षान् दीव्यति ।

   ii.   देवदत्तः अक्षैः दीव्यति ।

It is obvious that दिव् is transitive (tr), सकर्मक, in (i) and intransitive (intr), अकर्मक, in (ii). It is homophonous. We may not carry an impression that it is an identical pair that participates in the above constructions. The pairs अक्ष - दिव् (tr) and अक्ष - दिव् (intr) are distinct and belong to two different structural groups.

Each structural group occurs in different sets of syntactic environments and denotes respective कारक distinctions. Difference in their structural behavior, for instance, is visibly noticed in the constructions देवदत्तेन अक्षाः दीव्यन्ते and देवदत्तेन अक्षैः दीव्यते.

It is just in the interest of achieving economy in his description that Panini formulates the statement दिवः कर्म with the particle च incorporated into it and places it immediately after साधकतमम् करणम् (1442). If he were able to use any device to indicate that दिव् in this statement is transitive, it would have been adequate for him to have the statement simply as दिवः कर्म. The expression साधकतमम् would have been inducted into it as it is done now.

With this explanation it should be clear that nominal stems co-occurring with दिव् , for instance, अक्ष- receives one designation at a time, कर्मन् when co-occurring with transitive and करण when with intransitive.

(b)   The expression हेतुमत् in the कारिका alludes to the statement तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च (1455). It follows the statement स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता (1454). It is rendered as follows.

"Instigator of that i.e. कर्तृ (of the non-causal construction) is called हेतु and कर्तृ ."

Take the construction

देवदत्तः यज्ञदत्तेन ओदनं पाचयति ।

'Devadatta makes Yajyadatta cook rice'.

It is a construction which describes performance of act of cooking by यज्ञदत्त at the instance of देवदत्त. Here देवदत्त is instigator, प्रयोजक, of यज्ञदत्त who is कर्तृ vis-à-vis the act of cooking, पच् .

Now the same linguistic entity viz. देवदत्त receives two designations – one that of हेतु and the other that of कर्तृ . At grammatical level presence of instigator is reflected in the morphology of the complex verb stem पाचि, which is derived by adding इ (=णिच्) to पच् .   Thus इ in the verbal stem denotes हेतु .

On the other hand, देवदत्त is कर्तृ of action denoted by the derivative stem पाचि and is expressed by the inflectional affix ति.

Obviously देवदत्त does not receive these designations in turn, पर्याय. At the level of causal construction one and the same item receives these two designations.

There is no clash with regard to application of the two roles. The designation हेतु , as stated above, finds its application at the level of morphology i.e., formation of the causal stem and that of कर्तृ at the level of syntax in the construction involving the same stems.

157

(c)   In the कारिका गतिबुद्ध्यादीनां ण्यन्तानाम् कर्म कर्तृसंज्ञम् (10) कात्यायन maintains that the कर्मन् of verb stems ending in the derivative affix णि =इ i.e. causal stems receives कर्तृ designation also.

The expression गतिबुद्ध्यादि has reference to Panini's statement गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसानार्थ-शब्दकर्मांकर्मकाणाम् अणि कर्ता स णौ (1452). It is rendered as follows.

> "What is कर्तृ of verb stems denoting the meanings 'moving, perception, eating' and verb having nominal stems denoting sound as कर्मन् and intransitive stems when these are not followed by the affix णि (इ) i.e. when used as non-causal, becomes कर्मन् when these stems are followed by the affix णि i.e. when these are used as causal."

The nominal stem शिशु , for instance, is कर्तृ vis-à-vis गम् in शिशुः गच्छति ।   Here गम् is not followed by the affix णि.   It is represented as कर्मन् in जननी शिशुं गमयति when गम् is followed by the affix णि (=इ).   In simple words the कर्तृ of these verbs in non-causal construction is represented as कर्मन् in their causal use.

We have shown above that कर्तृ of non-causal verb stems in such simplex constructions as देवदत्तः ओदनं पचति continues to be represented as कर्तृ in corresponding causal constructions e.g. यज्ञदत्तः देवदत्तेन ओदनं पाचयति.

In case of verb stems described in (1452), however, कर्तृ of such stems is represented as कर्मन् in causal constructions. कात्य यन, in the वार्तिक referred to above, refers to this

phenomenon. He postulates that कर्मन् in these constructions receives the designation कर्तृ also.

कात्यायन's assumption cannot be maintained.   There is no grammatical motivation to support it. Rather कर्मन् here obligatorily or optionally undergoes structural changes. E.g.

शिशुं शाययति जननी -> शिशुः शाय्यते जनन्या ।
विप्रान् ओदनं भोजयति गृहस्थः -> विप्राः ओदनं भोज्यन्ते गृहस्थैः

<div style="text-align:center">or</div>

<div style="text-align:center">विप्रान् ओदनः भोज्यते गृहस्थैः । etc., etc.</div>

पतञ्जलि does not endorse कात्यायन's postulation.   Rather he points out that such a position is not acceptable to Panini who points out that in case of ह 'carry' and कृ 'do' कर्तृ in non-causal is represented alternately as कर्तृ or कर्मन् (1453). E.g.

देवदत्तः यज्ञदत्तेन भारं वाहयति or देवदत्तः यज्ञदत्तं भारं वाहयतिः ।
देवदत्तः यज्ञदत्तेन कटं कारयति or देवदत्तः यज्ञदत्तं कटं कारयति ।

We may conclude that no two designations are ascribed to कर्तृ of non-causal verb stems in corresponding causal constructions. It is represented कर्तृ in general except in case of causal constructions based on verb stems described in (1452) where it is represented as कर्मन् and optionally as कर्तृ or कर्मन् in case of causal stems of ह 'carry' and कृ 'do' (1453).

(d)   Panini notices that nominal stems co-occurring with the verb stem परि - क्री 'engage someone or rent out something for a fixed period of time on a stipulated cost', denote करण or सम्प्रदान (1444). E.g.

शतेन मासं परिक्रीणामि इदम् आवासम् or

शताय मासं परिक्रीणामि इदम् आवासम् ।

'I rent this residence for one hundred a month.'

Obviously the two designations received by शत here are in alternate constructions.

(e)   Panini also refers in (1451) to nominal stems that receive two कारक designations, namely कर्मन् and one another variously (differing from verb stem to verb stem) when co-occurring with verb stems not specified by him but described in a श्लोक वार्तिक quoted in the महाभाष्य on (1451). These designations are received by an item when participating in alternate constructions, implying distinct sets of environments. E.g.

     (a) i.   गां दोग्धि पय: ।
         ii.   गो: दोग्धि पय: ।

In (i) गो receives कर्मन् designation while in (ii) it receives अपादान.

     (b) i.   माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति ।
         ii.   माणवकाय पन्थानं पृच्छति ।

In (i) माणवक denotes कर्मन् while in (ii) सम्प्रदान. And so on (see कर्मन् कारक).

It may be pointed out that recognition of dependency relationships among कारक by कात्यायन, पतञ्जलि, later commentators of Panini and modern students of Panini, rather creates intriguing and muddled situation sometime. An instance maybe discussed here.

In कारिका (30), as discussed earlier, कात्यायन assumes that धनुष् denotes अपादान and करण in धनुषा विध्यति and अपादान and कर्तृ in धनु

र् विध्यति.   The correct structures are produced by setting aside अपादान respectively by करण and by कर्तृ in accordance with the convention described in (142).

Again in कारिका (32), धनुष् denotes करण and कर्तृ in धनुर् विध्यति. The correct form is produced by rejecting करण in favor of कर्तृ .

Obviously he takes into notice conflict between two designations at a time ascribed to one and the same item in a construction; e.g. अपादान and करण: अपादान and कर्तृ (in कारिका 30) and करण and कर्तृ in (कारिका 32). He does not demonstrate any conflict among अपादान, करण and कर्तृ all at once, in धनुर् विध्यति. Linguistic facts do illustrate conflicts between अपादान - करण; अपादान - कर्तृ and करण - कर्तृ which comes down to conflict among triple designations viz. अपादान - करण - कर्तृ .

कात्यायन's choice to deal with the facts, as he interprets them, leads to a situation where conflict between अपादान and करण in धनुषा विध्यति is found superfluous.   After all करण comes into conflict with कर्तृ and is rejected ultimately in धनुर् विध्यति (कारिका 32).

Ordering of   कारक   statements

कारक statements are described in Panini under the domain of कारके (1423) in the order of अपादान, सम्प्रदान, करण, अधिकरण, कर्मन् and कर्तृ .

Is this order simply accidental (fortuitous) or deliberate ?

The question has been duly discussed in the महाभाष्य tradition. कात्यायन, the earliest extent grammarian whose views are

161

preserved in the महाभाष्य, sees a structural reason in this arrangement. He understands and पतञ्जलि agrees with him, that Panini recognizes that a nominal stem may denote two (or more) कारक relations simultaneously in a particular context. However, only one of these will be operative. To achieve this end Panini reads the whole block of कारक statements under the domain of आ कडाराद् एका संज्ञा (141) which lays down that only one technical term, संज्ञा, applies to an item referred to in the section (beginning with this statement and) ending with the expression कडार (2238).

And Panini further states in the statement विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (142) that if there is conflict with regard to simultaneous application of two (or more) designations, the one that is described in a latter statement should be operative.'

The present order is, thus, assigned purposely to the कारक statements. Its structural significance comes into fore the moment <u>two</u> कारक designations are found competing for application in a context. कात्यायन cites a few instances of such conflicts in the कारिकाs (30-35) on (141).

पतञ्जलि and later commentators of Panini including modern students find no fault with कात्यायन's views and endorse these without raising any questions.

We have examined above constructions cited by कात्यायन to demonstrate assignment of two कारक designations to one and the same item and setting aside of one by the other which is mentioned latter. His claim does <u>not</u> seem to have any substance. It is supported neither by linguistic facts nor by linguistic theory. No dependency relationships are found to obtain between कारक.   We have shown each कारक is

established independently of the other.

Thus with the rejection of dependency theory of कारक relationships, the basis of present arrangement of कारक statements postulated in the महाभाष्य also falls through. We have to look elsewhere to account for their present ordering.

A recapitulation

Before we proceed to explicate ordering of कारक statements, we shall like to recapitulate our understanding of Panini's concept of कारक and interpretations of these statements.

Syntactic units co-occurring in discourses may be found related variously structurally. Of these nominal and verbal forms broadly display two types of relationships. There are no formal clues in the environments that could help us distinguish and explicate nature of these relationships. Panini is just silent. However, reading between the lines of his description of the language, we may postulate a pragmatic feature to differentiate the two. If 'entities, things and objects' denoted by nominal stems (underlying nominal forms) 'help actualization' of actions denoted by verbal stems (underlying verbal forms) co-occurring with them, the syntactic relationship is of one type. It may be called कारक. If not, it may simply be called non-कारक, a non-de-script nomenclature subsuming miscellaneous types of relationships. Panini does not talk of such a criterion. Nonetheless he does operate with syntactic relationships of these types.

Further विभक्ति types with nominal stems divide co-occurring

pairs holding कारक relation into six groups, each group denoting a distinct कारक variety. Thus it is विभक्ति types with nominal stems in these pairs that distinguish formally various कारक varieties. A nominal stem found occurring with two or more विभक्ति types in a lexically identical pair will, thus, denote two or more कारक distinctions, e.g. शत-परि क्री in शतेन परि क्रीणाति and शताय परिक्रीणाति denoting respectively करण and सम्प्रदान (1444).

It may be claimed that कारक varieties are set up independently of one another. There are rare overlappings in usage (cf. 233, 12, 14, 17).

With regard to the phenomenon of co-occurrence, nominal and verb stems in a pair constitute a unique set. Pairs denoting a particular कारक variety, thus, may be regarded as an assemblage of unique entities. However, if nominal stems, on the one hand and verb stems on the other, in two or more pairs could be identified as forming distinct groups on the basis of respective shared features, these may be subsumed under one set reflecting their freedom of co-occurrence.

We find Panini is able to organize groups of pairs pertaining to each कारक variety into such sub-sets ranging from eleven (for कर्मन्) to one (for अधिकरण and कर्तृ each). Structural statements listed under each कारक describe these subsets. Each statement is designed (formulated) in identical terms structurally. Schematically it may be delineated as follows.

Being कारक, X co-occurring with Y denotes K

      X = subset of nominal stems;

Y = subset of verb stems;

K = variety of कारक.

In other words, it means that 'being कारक any nominal stem in the subset X co-occurring with any verb stem in the subset Y denotes the कारक variety K.

Rationale of order of statements

We are now concerned with examining the rationale of present order of these statements, both within a group denoting respective कारकs and among these groups themselves.

We may take up consideration of organization of statements within each group.

Two considerations suggest to us which Panini seems to have kept in view in providing the present ordering of statements within a group.

Statements may differ in their scope. A statement may describe co-occurrence of larger number of nominal and verb stems. Panini, thus, may arrange in descending order of their comprehensiveness.

Again two or more statements may be found to share linguistic expressions in their formulation. Panini may read such statements together in a sequence so that the common expression may be carried over to the following one. This allows him to exercise economy in his statements. He employs this device sometimes, to a fault, so to say. Statements relating to one कारक are read under another just for the sake of taking advantage of reading the common element from the preceding one (अनुवृत्ति).

165

These two factors do interact. It will be clear from the discussion of the issue below.

We may now consider what factors may have weighed with Panini in providing order to statements under each कारक.

अपादान

There are eight statements in this group. Each statement specifies sets of nominal and verb stems and further tells that any nominal stem may co-occur with any verb stem in these sets. All pairs thus formed denote अपादान कारक.

Following pairs of expressions in each statement describe respectively sets of nominal and verb stems.

1424	ध्रुवम्	अपाय
1425	भयहेतुः	Stems denoting the meaning of भी and त्रा
1426	असोढः	परा-जि
1427	ईप्सितः	Stems denoting the meaning of वारण.
1428	येनादर्शनम् इच्छति	Stems meaning अन्तर्धि.
1429	आख्याता	Stems meaning उपयोग.
1430	जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः	जन्
1431	भुवः कर्तुः प्रभवः	भू (प्रभू).

The expression ध्रुव- may denote any number of nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems denoting 'movement', which are quite a few. The extent of nominal and verb stem pairs described by (1424) is real large.

At the bottom of the group are statements that go together for being linked by the shared expression कर्तुः (1430-31). Range of nominal stems involved in each is hardly more than

a few. And the co-occurring verb stems are nearly confined respectively to जन् and भू (प्र-भू). Thus the variety of co-occurring pairs covered by each is simply small (meager).

In between these two extremes are statements that differ from one another in their scope in a limited way. For instance, there may be only a few nominal stems denoting 'things' that my be 'cause of fear' in the context of verb stems meaning भी and त्रा, just a few. Thus co-occurring pairs covered by the statement are much less as compared with these covered by (1424).

Similarly stems denoting 'things desired (ईप्सित)' are not too many in the context of action of 'warding off.' Coverage of co-occurring pairs by (1427) is again very narrow.

The statements (1426, 28-29) describe pairs that involve verb stems nearly restricted to परा-जि and those meaning अन्त धाँ and उपयुञ् respectively. Such verb stems are very few. Variety of co-occurring nominal stems as specified by linguistic expressions given above could be equally meager. Scope of these statements is quite narrow.

From our description of respective extent of co-occurring pairs described by each statement, it is clear that Panini organizes these in descending order of their scope. He takes into consideration linkage of statements that share any linguistic expression in their formulation.

सम्प्रदान

There are ten statements describing sets of co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs denoting सम्प्रदान कारक. Expressions denoting these sets are given below.

1432	कर्मणा यम् अभिप्रैति सः		सम्-प्र-दा/दा ।
1433	प्रीयमाणः	Stems meaning रुच् .	
1434	श्लीप्स्यमानः		श्लाघ् , हु , स्था, शप् ।
1435	उत्तमर्णः	धारि (Casual of धृ).	
1436	ईप्सितः	स्पृह् ।	
1437	यं प्रति कोपः		Stems meaning क्रुध् , द्रुह् , ईष्य् , and असूय् ।
1439	यस्य विप्रश्नः		राध् , ईक्ष् ।
1440	पूर्वस्य कर्ता		प्रतिश्रु , आश्रु ।
1441	पूर्वस्य कर्ता		अनु—गृ , प्रति—गृ ।
1444	साधकतमम्		परि-क्री ।

Nominal stems are identified by labels that describe pragmatic roles of 'things' denoted by them vis-à-vis actions denoted by co-occurring verb stems which are enumerated in most of the statements.

In the statement (1432), it may be pointed out, there is no explicit mention of co-occurring verb stems. It is assumed that the technical term सम्प्रदान, introduced for the first time in this statement, also alludes to co-occurring verb stems also. Thus this group consists of verb stems meaning सम्प्रदान 'giving away finally, handing over completely'.

There are thus three statements, namely (1432-33 and 1437) where a group of verb stems are described in the meaning of stems listed therein.

The statements (1441-42) go together for being linked by the shared expression पूर्वस्य कर्ता.

What considerations does Panini have in organizing these statements? Whatever considerations there may be, these do not seem to be displayed boldly in the ordering of these

statements. We may simply guess.

To take advantage of the technical term सम्प्रदान to identify co-occurring verb stems the statement (1432) is put on the top.

The statement (1433) follows it since verb stems are described in a similar manner in terms of synonyms of रुच् .

The statements (1434-36) are read in continuation with (1433) since these follow the same pattern of formulation. Groups of nominal stems are here identified by expressions consisting of single पदः viz. ज्ञीप्स्यमानः, उत्तमर्णः and ईप्सितः as प्रीयमाण: in (1433).

Among themselves these are ordered keeping in view brevity of their formulation.

These are followed by statements (1437, 39-49) where groups of nominal stems are described in terms of phrases rather than single पद as in (1433-36). The statements (1440-41), however, are put at the end of the string being linked together by sharing the expression पूर्वस्य कर्ता. The statements (1437-38) are arranged in terms of अनुवृत्ति, items shared by them.

Since co-occurring pairs described in (1444) denote alternately सम्प्रदान and करण, it is read under करण.

Reading between the lines we have tried to work out considerations Panini may have had in organizing the group of statements relating to सम्प्रदान. Economy in description is one guiding factor in organizing his structural description of the language. He does achieve some measure of it, howsoever little it may be, here also. That is certainly gratifying to him.

करण

There are in all three statements read under करण.

The statement (1444) states that nominal stems denoting 'means par excellence' co-occurring with परि-क्री express सम्प्रदान alternately. To express this structural relationship between the two कारक, it is placed at the end of the group, having described करण in (1442).

The statement (1443), on the other hand, describes that nominal stems denoting 'means par excellence' co-occurring with दिव् denote कर्मन् also. Thus it is placed next to (1442).

In our discussion earlier we have argued that दिव् is both transitive and intransitive. In constructions denoting करण it is used intransitively and transitively where it denotes कर्मन् . Panini avoids making two separate statements by imposing this categorical distinction.

अधिकरण

There is only one statement (1445) that describes अधिकरण.

कर्मन्

There are ten statements describing कर्मन् कारक. These are not found recorded in a block. Rather these are dispersed in various contexts. We shall discuss this point while looking into their organization by Panini.

Expressions identifying co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs are given below.

   1449   कर्तुर् ईप्सिततमम्   any   appropriate   verb
          stem.

1450 तथायुक्तं कर्तुर् अनीप्सितम्   any   appropriate   verb
     stem.

1451   कर्तुर् ईप्सिततमं तथायुक्तम् ⎰   Verb stems
     अनीप्सितं च अकथितम् ।   ⎱   described in the
                             महाभाष्य.

1452 गति-बुद्धि . . . काणाम्   ⎰   णिजन्त (Casual)
     अणि कर्ता स: ।   ⎱   of these stems.

1453 हक्रोर् अणिकर्ता स: (optionally).   णिजन्त (Casual) of
     these.

1438 यं प्रति कोप: क्रुध् and द्रुह् preceded by any उपसर्ग.

1443 साधकतमम्   दिव् .

1446 आधार: शी, स्था and आस् preceded by अधि.

1447 आधार: अभि-नि-विश् .

1448 आधार: वस् preceded by any of the उपसर्गs
              उप , अनु , अधि, or आ.

Organization of these statements may be examined, to start
with, from the point of view of recurrence of common
element (अनुवृत्ति) in them. From this angle these fall into five
groups.

 (i) 1449-51
 (ii) 1452-53
 (iii) 1438
 (iv) 1443
 (v) 1446-48

Of these groups (iii-v) are read respectively in the context
of सम्प्रदान, करण and अधिकरण.   (i-ii) are unattached to any
context. These may be regarded as central core groups, so
to say, describing कर्मन् .

The groups (I) and (ii) as groups are further distinguished

171

into two sub-types on structural bases, it seems. The group of statements (1449-51) deals with description of कर्मन् in non-causal constructions. The other group consisting of (1452-53) talks of कर्मन् relation in causal construction. The statement (1453) points out कर्मन् being optional with कर्तृ . And perhaps it is for this reason that these groups are provided the present order.

Further reading of common elements also contributes to recognition of these groups.

Order of statements in each group is solely determined in terms of recurring elements.

The common recurring element कर्तुः binds (1449) and (1450). The expression तथायुक्तम् in (1450) has reference to (1449). The order of these statements has to be what it is. It cannot be reversed.

The sutras (1449) and (1450) are read in toto in (1451). Thus it has to be placed at the end of this group.

In case of the other group, namely (1452-53), the recurring elements are अणि कर्ता सः and णौ. Since (1453) describes that कर्मन् in case of verbal stems ह and कृ is optional to कर्तृ , the statement has to be placed after (1452). Reversal of order mixes up things.

The statement (1438) is the lone member of group (iii). Through recurring element यं प्रति कोपः, it is formally related with the preceding statement which otherwise belongs to the group of statements describing सम्प्रदान.

For reasons of achieving economy in description, he chooses to read it here after (1437).

There may be another reason also, Panini wants to point out

172

that the verb stems क्रुध् and द्रुह् differ in their syntactic behavior when preceded and not preceded by उपसर्गs.

The group (iv) also consists of just one statement. It is read in the context of statements describing करण.

To state that nominal stems denoting 'means par excellence' co-occurring with the verb stem दिव् 'gamble' denote कर्मन् as well as करण, Panini has to have a statement that contains the expression साधकतम- and also the particle च meaning 'also' referring to कारक described in the preceding statement.

To achieve these ends, thus, Panini incorporates a statement with च and reads it after (1442).

Now consider ordering of the statements (1446-48) forming group (v).

Nominal stems denoting locus, आधार, express कर्मन् while co-occurring with verb stems described in these statements.

All the statements describe the same phenomenon. Panini would have wished very much to have just one statement if he could have found ways to string together all verb stems in one group. Diversity of combinations of verb stems with उपसर्गs would not allow that. Ultimately he is able to organize these into three groups taking into consideration how best combination of उपसर्गs with verb stems could be stated. This results into three statements. To felicitate reading of the expression आधार: these are placed after (1445).

Ordering of blocks of कारक statements

Now we may discuss ordering of blocks of कारक statements. We believe underlying consideration in their organization is

feature of recurring elements, अनुवृत्ति.

The groups denoting अपादान and कर्तृ stand unattached. These are not related with any other कारक group. There is, thus, no problem with regard to assignment of order to these two groups. The अपादान group is placed in the beginning and that denoting कर्तृ at the end so that the expression कर्तृ may be carried over to the next statement that defines हेतु , a technical term not denoting कारक.

The rest of the कारक groups are interwoven in a net of interrelationships by way of recurring elements variously. And it is those interrelationships that determine ordering of these blocks. We discuss this below.

The statement क्रुध-द्रुहोर्-उपसृष्ट्यो: कर्म though describing कर्मन् is sandwiched between statements describing सम्प्रदान because it shares the expression यं प्रति कोप: with the preceding statement (1437). Thus it is placed immediately after it so that the shared expression may be inducted into it.

There is the statement दिव: कर्म च which describes कर्मन् as well as करण. To achieve this end Panini needs to incorporate the expressions साधकतमम् and करणम् in it. Thus it is placed immediately after the statement साधकतमम् करणम् । (1442) so that the whole statement may be read into it.

The statements (1446-48) describe that nominal stems denoting locus (आधार) co-occurring with various verb stems given therein express कर्मन् कारक. Now just to read the expression अधार: into them these are placed after (1445).

The statement परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानम् अन्यतरस्याम् । (1444) describes that nominal stems denoting 'means par excellence' co-

occurring with verb stem परि-क्री denote सम्प्रदान optionally. Option here is to करण कारक. To achieve this end Pāṇini reads it under the domain of करण कारक so that the expression साधकतमम् may be read into it. The use of the expression अन्यतरस्याम् ensures optionality of सम्प्रदान to करण, the domain under which it is read.

The statement is interrupted by (1443) for reasons explained above.

Now Panini is to provide an order to the groups of कारक statements सम्प्रदान, करण, अधिकरण and कर्मन् in a manner that their interrelationships, discussed above, may be reflected in their organization.

We notice that statements relating to कर्मन् कारक are interspersed in all these groups. It is thus reasonable to expect that the कारक groups सम्प्रदान, करण and अधिकरण precede कर्मन् group.

We see कर्मन् group is more closely associated with अधिकरण. There are three statements (1446-48) where the expression आधार: occurs. It needs to be inducted from (1445), the only statement describing अधिकरण. Thus to felicitate reading of आधार: into these statements the statement (1445) describing अधिकरण is to precede them. This way the blocks relating to अधिकरण and कर्मन् are knit close together.

We have discussed above that certain statements relating to कर्मन् and सम्प्रदान are read under करण. Thus करण is placed after सम्प्रदान before the close-knit groups of अधिकरण and कर्मन् .

The order provided to सम्प्रदान, करण, अधिकरण and कर्मन् by

Panini, thus, mirrors correctly their formal interrelationships.

Concluding we may say that ordering of groups of कारक statements in the अष्टाध्यायी is strictly in terms of formal features, presence or absence of recurring elements, अनुवृत्ति. कात्यायन's postulation, supported by पतञ्जलि, that it is based on dependency relationships between कारकs does not stand scrutiny as demonstrated by us.

ॐ

Chapter 6

अनभिहिते

We shall like to discuss here implications of the statement अन भिहिते 'on being unexpressed' (231).

What Panini describes in statements under (231) is <u>representation</u> of syntactic relations by nominal inflections, वि भक्ति, that nominal bases hold with nominal or verbal bases co-occurring with them in syntactic constructions of various types. Such relations may be those of कारक or non-कारक.

कारक **relations**

कारक relations obtain between pairs of nominal and verbal bases co-occurring in syntactic constructions of diverse sorts. These fall into six types. Co-occurring pairs for each type of कारक are described exhaustively in (1424-55) under the statement कारके (1423).

Nominal विभक्ति from 2nd to 7th denote these relations as follows. It may be noted that the 1st विभक्ति does <u>not</u> express any कारक relation in Panini.

कर्मन्	2nd (231, 12, 22); 3rd (233, 22) 4th (2312,14-15, 17); 6th (2358-59, 61)
सम्प्रदान	4th (2313)
कर्तृ	3rd (2318)
करण	3rd (2318, 33); 5th (2333); 6th (2363)
अपादान	5th (2328)

अधिकरण 7th (2336)

Non-कारक relations

Non-कारक relations fall into <u>two</u> types. One type is subsumed under शेष (2350). The other types are not assigned any particular nomenclature.   These may be called simply miscellaneous.

(a) शेष

शेष relations show two varieties which may be described as follows.

 (i) शेष relations described in (2350) constitute one variety. These hold between two nominal bases. Panini, however, neither characterizes types of nominal bases that are capable of holding such relationships nor does he say anything with regard to the nature of relationship.   Any nominal base compatible semantically with any other nominal base may contract such a relationship. Multifarious considerations, nevertheless, underlie these relationships. There are expressed by the 6th विभक्ति affix.

  (ii) The other variety of शेष relations obtains between verbal bases listed in (2351-57, 64) pairing with appropriate nominal bases holding specific कारक relations with them as described in statements under कारके (1423).

These are also expressed by the 6th विभक्ति.

(b) Miscellaneous non-कारक relations

The miscellaneous types of non-कारक relations obtain between nominal bases and verbal or nominal bases of

178

various grammatical categories.   Semantic nuances of
diverse sorts are displayed by such relationships.   Their
description lies interspersed in statements describing
different कारक varieties (2324-54). These are expressed by
different विभक्ति affixes as indicated in respective statements.

अनभिहित- what does it signify?

In the above context Panini observes that 'on being
unexpressed (by any other grammatical elements- अनभिहिते)
nominal inflectional affixes express syntactic relations, कारक
and non-कारक, as noticed in (232-73).

It is obvious that nominal inflections can denote syntactic
relationships only in syntactic constructions and not in non-
syntactic constructions viz. morphological (कृदन्त and तद्धितान्त)
and compositional (समास). In the latter type of constructions
nominal inflections have no scope of being introduced after
nominal bases which are embedded in morphological and
compositional constructions. We may, thus, look for syntactic
construction types where elements other than nominal
inflections denote the very same syntactic relations and as a
consequence of that debar nominal inflections from
representing these relationships.   We have to show
categorically that competing elements viz. nominal
inflections and elements other than these occur in the same
type of syntactic constructions.

We do find in Panini that there are certain affixes other
than nominal inflections that express some of these syntactic
relations in respective syntactic constructions. For instance, क
र्तृ and कर्मन् relations are denoted by verb inflections (तिङ्) as
well as by कृत् affixes कृत्य, क and those that express the

179

sense of खल् itself and युच् (331127-128) as introduced after verbal bases in appropriate pairs in construction types indicated in (3468-72). Besides the कृत् affix क occurring after verbal bases denoting 'static action, movement or eating' express अधिकरण कारक (3476).

Again the affix क after verbal bases denoting 'wish, know and honor' denotes कर्मन् relation when verbal act has reference to present time (32188); e.g. राज्ञा पूजित: 'the learned are honored by kings'. Here राजन् denotes कर्तृ and takes 6th विभक्ति by (2365).

Also the कृत् affixes क्तवत्=तवत् and क्वनिप् = वन् (32102-103) denote कर्तृ as in such constructions as माणवक: वेदम् अधीतवान् , गृहस्थ: अग्निष्टोमस्य यज्वा 'The household performed the अग्निष्टोम sacrifice'. Here we may give one or two more instances of कृत् affixes which denote कर्तृ relation in appropriate syntactic constructions.

The affixes तृच् , ण्वुल् etc. denote कर्तृ (31133); e.g. देवदत्त: ओदनस्य पक्ता 'Devadatta cooks rice', इन्द्र: अपां स्रष्टा 'Indra releases water' etc. Here since तृच् expresses कर्तृ relation माणवक and इन्द्र take 1st विभक्ति which in Panini does not denote any कारक relation (1446). On the other hand, ओदन denoting कर्मन् takes 6th by (2365).

In such constructions as इदानी भवत: शायिका 'Now it is your turn to sleep', भवत् holds कर्तृ relation with शी 'lie down', an intransitive verbal base. The construction is of the type called भाववाचक. Nonetheless the कृत् affix ण्वुल्=अक introduced after शी, denotes कर्तृ. Thus भवत् takes 6th विभक्ति by (2365) which denotes कर्तृ.

There are quite a few more कृत् affixes that are described by Panini as denoting कारक relations. For instance, घञ् (3319) denotes करण in राग: 'color' from रञ्ज् 'dye'; अपादान in प्रपात: 'a precipice' from प्रपत् 'fall'; अधिकरण in प्रासाद: 'a palace' from प्र-सद् 'sit'; ल्युट् (33115) कर्मन् in प्रवचन: 'the Veda' from प्र-वच् 'recite'; करण in प्रवश्चन: 'an ax' from प्रवृश्च् 'cut'; अधिकरण in जननी 'mother' from जन् 'be born'; घ (33118) करण in वह: 'a shoulder' from वह् 'carry', and so on.

Students of पाणिनि's grammar, as attested in the महाभाष्य, explicate formation of such derivatives in terms of underlying syntactic structures as illustrated below.

कर्तृ	पचति इति पच: 'one who cooks' (पच्-अच, 31134)
कर्मन्	घयन्ति एताम् इति घात्री 'a wet nurse' (धे-ष्ट्रन्-ङीष् , 32181)
करण	दान्ति अनेन इति दात्रम् 'that with which one cuts' (दा-ष्ट्रन् , 32182)
सम्प्रदान	दीयते अस्मै इति दानीय: 'to whom something is given' (दा-अनीयर् , 33113)
अपादान	प्रपतन्ति अस्मात् इति प्रपात: 'a precipice' (प्रपत्-घञ् , 3319)
अधिकरण	शेते अस्मिन् इति शयनम् 'a bed' (शी-ल्युट् , 33117)

A difficulty arises with regard to use of such derivatives in syntactic constructions manifesting कारक relations indicated by कृत् affixes. Take, for instance, the derivative दात्र- given above. The कृत् affix त्र (ष्ट्रन्) is credited with denoting करण कारक. We may ask - what nominal base co-occurring with दा 'cut' designates करण कारक ? In the underlying structure such a nominal base is indicated by use of the pronominal base एतद् 'that' with 3rd विभक्ति. The pronominal bases in such underlying syntactic constructions are employed as variable,

dummy, to be substituted by any appropriate nominal base compatible semantically with the verbal stem concerned. We look around to get at the appropriate nominal base to pair with दा. We soon discover that it is none other than दात्र-, the nominal base yet to be derived. We are in fact attempting to formulate the derivative in terms of itself. The underlying syntactic structure surreptitiously transforms itself into दान्ति दात्रेण इति दात्रम्. Simply inconceivable.

It may be pointed out that the underlying structure is developed keeping an eye on the derivative to be formed. For instance, in शेते अस्याम् इति शय्या 'a bed' (शी-क्यप् 3399), the feminine form अस्याम् from the dummy इदम् is designed to agree in gender with the gender of the derivative शय्या-.

As we step outside the realm of grammar into the world of real language use, shall we be free to produce such sentences as दात्रेण सस्यं दाति ? Perhaps, yes. There is no structural bar not to produce these. पतञ्जलि does discuss similar constructions viz. आसने आस्ते, शयने शेते to show that अधिकरण कारक is expressed twice here, once by the कृत् affix अन (ल्युट्) and second time by the 7th विभक्ति with the derivatives. He resorts to subtle argumentation to establish that such usages are in perfect harmony with Panini's prescription of denoting syntactic relations as implied in the statement अनभिहिते (231). (See भाष्य. on कारिकाs 7-9 on 231); However, we do not reproduce this here.

We want to make two observations here. One, the underlying structures such as दान्ति अनेन इति दात्रम् etc. are not sustainable for the reasons pointed out above. Two, in syntactic constructions in real language such as दात्रेण दाति, आसने आस्ते etc. कारक relations expressed by affixes in these

182

derivatives have no structural role to play. Such derivatives are rather treated structurally at par with ordinary nominal base where no derivative affix marks any कारक relation. For instance, दात्रेण in दात्रेण दाति may be substituted by असिना, खड्गेन etc.

The inescapable conclusion is that कृत् affixes denoting कारक relations in derivative nominal bases such as दात्र, घात्री, शयन, प्रासाद, प्रपात etc. have no structural implication at syntactic level. In syntactic constructions these admit nominal विभक्ति in consonance with कारक relations these express vis-à-vis verbal bases co-occurring with them. e.g.

दात्रं स्पृश ।   दात्रेण सस्यं लुनाति ।
दात्रात् अपेहि ।   'Keep away from the sickle'
दानीयाय ब्राह्मणाय गां ददाति ।   स्मरति घात्रीं शिशुः ।
घात्रीषु विश्वसन्ति शिशवः ।
शय्यासु मत्कुणाः प्रचलन्ति   'Bugs abound in cots'
and so on.

We may reiterate that an affix in a derivative expressing one or the other कारक relation does not prevent the speaker from adding appropriate nominal inflection after it to express syntactic relation, including the one that is expressed by the derivative affix it holds as a nominal base with the verbal base co-occurring with it.

One may ask what good for is claiming of representation of कारक relations by affixes in such कृत् derivatives.

We presume that identification of verbal bases and affixes in such nominal bases as दात्र, प्रपात, जननी, आहार, प्रास, शयन etc. is the natural outcome of rigorous application of analytical processes by Panini and further assignment of syntactic

relationships between constituents and attributing meanings to affixes, is an attempt to account for, in as general terms as possible, various semantic nuances expressed by such derivatives in various contexts in real language.

However, attestation of such derivatives in <u>syntactic</u> construction in the language remains as the real litmus test of representation of various कारक relations and meanings by such affixes. Panini's treatment, nevertheless, is wholly consistent with his theoretical and conceptual approach.

We may, thus, conclude that formulation of अनभिहिते (231) is well-motivated in the context of तिङ् and such कृत् affixes that denote कारक relations in <u>syntactic</u> constructions. It may be interpreted to imply that <u>all</u> other कारक (and non-कारक) relations unexpressed (अनभिहिते) by such affixes are denoted by <u>nominal विभक्ति</u>s in all types of syntactic constructions.

तद्धित

तद्धित affixes are introduced after nominal forms ending in one or the other nominal inflections indicating some syntactic/semantic relationships with another nominal or verbal inflected form co-occurring with it in a syntactic construction.

Panini has a way to specify inflected forms in a phrase after which a तद्धित affix is to be attached (4182). In his structural statements he reads initially an inflected form made from the pronominal base तद् 'that' related syntactically and semantically with the co-occurring form in the statement. The two together thus constitute a syntactic phrase. Here तद् occurs only as a variable. Substituting it

184

by any other item compatible semantically with it, we arrive at a phrase, a phrase useable in real language. It is in this phrase that the affix mentioned in the statement is introduced after the inflected nominal form obtained by replacing the variable. (4182). Such a string now constitutes the तद्धित stem. The affix denotes the meanings denoted by the 2nd constituent in the phrase. The string is subjected to appropriate grammatical operations and is realized finally as तद्धित nominal base (1246).

Consider the statement तत्र जातः, अण् (4325). Replacing तत्र by मथुरायाम् , we produce the phrase मथुरायां जातः. Now the affix अ ण् (अ) is added after मथुरायाम् , the constituent corresponding to तत्र, initial item in the phrase in the statement. It undergoes appropriate grammatical operations and is realized as माथुर - in the meaning 'born in मथुरा'. Here the तद्धित affix denotes the syntactic relationship and meanings denoted by जातः.

Panini regards in general that तद्धित derivatives are equivalent grammatically and semantically with syntactic phrases on which these are based and may alternate with them in linguistic usage (4182).

It is, thus, obvious that तद्धित affixes denote the same syntactic and semantic relationships as are expressed by nominal inflections in phrases corresponding to them. There is one to one relationship between them. The तद्धित affixes thus fall outside the scope of अनभिहिते (231). We cannot demonstrate that there are relationships which are unexpressed (अनभिहित) by तद्धित affixes and these are expressed by nominal inflections. Both denote the same relationships, the affixes in morphological constructions and nominal inflections in syntactic constructions.

185

Such तद्धित affixes as तरप् , तमप् , इयस् , ईष्ठन् (5355-57) क, अकच् (5370-71) etc. and अ, अच् (5474-75), ट्च् (5491) etc, though included among तद्धित affixes, have little to do with representation of syntactic relations. These are, thus, not considered here.

समास

A linguistic expression ending in nominal inflection, सुप् , (212) combines with another such expression, सुपा (214) with which it is related syntactically and semantically, समर्थ (211) to constitute a compound समास (213).

All nominal compounds are, thus, strings of nominal inflected forms constituting syntactic phrases. Syntactic and/or semantic relationships exhibited between co-occurring nominal inflected forms in such phrases are, thus, ipso facto, reflected in compound constructions where nominal inflections are dropped (2471) except in few cases (631). Relationships expressed by inflectional affixes are now expressed by compound structures. In other words there is no tangible entity in a compound to exhibit their relationships. The very compound structure demonstrates these relationships.

Largely syntactic phrases which correspond to compound structures are used as alternate current usages (2112). However, in certain instances, such syntactic phrases are not attested in the language. Instead compound forms alone are found in use. Nonetheless, in Panini's theory of compounding alternate phrases do exist in all cases without fail. These may be regarded as theoretical postulates in such instances.

Again, in some instances even a constituent in a compound may <u>not</u> be seen in the corresponding phrases. An item synonymous with it may be met with instead. For instance, for the compound उपकुम्भम् 'near the pot'.   The phrase postulated is कुम्भस्य समीपम् where समीपम् is substituted for उप (216).   For the compound कुपुरुषः 'an ignoble person' the phrase set up is दुष्टः पुरुषः, a paraphrase where कु is represented by दुष्ट-, a more familiar free form in this meaning (2218).

However, the point that we wish to establish is that according to Panini there is <u>no</u> compound base which does not have a corresponding syntactic phrase, even if it shows up only at theoretical level. And by and large such phrases are <u>alternate</u> usages in the language. Thus syntactic and/or semantic relationships between items in compounds and corresponding syntactic phrases are <u>the same</u>. Thus it does <u>not</u> make any sense to assert that nominal inflections express only such relations as are unexpressed (अनभिहित) by compound constructions. The provisions of अनभिहिते (231) are <u>not</u> applicable to relationships denoted by compound structures.

Concluding we may say that syntactic relationships being unexpressed (अनभिहिते) by verb inflection (तिङ्) and certain कृ त् affixes as discussed above are expressed by nominal inflections as described in (232-73).

Once in a while syntactic information expected to be provided under (231) but missing there is provided in another suitable context.   For instance, mention of occurrence of 5th विभक्ति with nominal bases in construction with बहिस् 'outside' is not made under (231). However, it is

available in (2112) which describes that बहिस् is compounded optionally with a nominal base ending in the 5th विभक्ति co-occurring with it.   Thus we have बहिर् ग्रामात् 'outside the village', a phrase or an अव्ययीभाव compound.

We may reiterate here that तद्धित affixes and compound structures express <u>precisely the same</u> relationships as expressed by nominal inflections as described under (231) in syntactic constructions corresponding to them at theoretical or real language level.

In a तद्धित derivative the affix does <u>not</u> offer any clue as to what syntactic/semantic relation it expresses. To know that, in the first instance, one has to refer to the structural statement that describes this formation. The statement helps you formulate the syntactic construction which corresponds to the derivative and is used as an alternative in linguistic usage.

By itself this information is not enough to let you know what syntactic relation the nominal affix in the syntactic construction (which is replaced in a way by the तद्धित affix) denotes. Thus next you have to turn to structural statements described under (231) which identify what syntactic/semantic relationships is denoted by a particular विभक्ति.

It looks, thus, preposterous to claim that nominal inflections express syntactic/semantic relations not expressed by तद्धित affixes.   Rather तद्धित affixes denote <u>the same</u> syntactic/semantic relationships as expressed by nominal inflections in syntactic constructions that underlie formation of तद्धित constructions and alternate with them in linguistic usage.

The same story is true of nominal compounds. From the formal structure of a compound you simply cannot predict syntactic/semantic relationships obtaining between its constituents. To arrive at it you have to refer to structural statement explicating its formation. It permits you to construct syntactic structure that underlies its formation.

Even that information is not adequate enough to form an idea of structural/semantic relationship indicated therein. In an underlying structure relationship between constituents is described in terms of nominal inflections. To know what syntactic/semantic relationship a particular विभक्ति denote, you refer again to the bunch of statements given under (231).

It makes little sense to say that nominal inflections express relations not expressed by compound structures. The truth, on the other hand, is that relations expressed by compound structure are derived from syntactic structures in accordance with statements (232-73) read under (231).

Dichotomy of अभिहित and अनभिहित

Above we have examined in the context of traditional interpretation of the statement अनभिहिते (231) how syntactic relations, कारक and non-कारक, are expressed in syntactic and morphological and compositional constructions.

Now we propose to discuss what considerations Panini may possibly have in formulating the statement अनभिहिते (231) and assess implications of the dichotomy of अभिहित and अनभिहित, (entailed by his use of the term अभिहित) signifying respectively syntactic relations expressed and not expressed by nominal विभक्ति (but expressed by other

189

grammatical elements if expressed at all) -an ingenious technical device to describe these relations. We presume no theoretical assumptions underlie postulation of such a dichotomy.

We may initiate our discussion with consideration of the following utterances.

(a)

(i) शिशुः ओदनं भुङ्क्ते	'The child eats rice'
(ii) शिशु दिवसम् ओदनं भुङ्क्ते	'The child eats rice the whole day'
(iii) अग्निम् अन्तरेण ओदनं कथं पचेत्	'How can you cook rice without a fire?'
(iv) राजमर्णम् उभयतः पादपान् आरोपयन्ति	'They plant trees on the both sides of the road'
(v) शाकटायनः उप वैय्याकरणान् अस्ति	'शाकटायन is superior to all other grammarians'

Here nominal bases ending in 2nd विभक्ति hold specific syntactic and/or semantic relationships with co-occurring verbal or nominal bases of diverse categories. In (i) ओदन holds कर्मन् relation with भुज् , दिवस् in (ii) holds semantic relationship of 'close contact' with भुज् ; अन्तरेण in (iii) that of 'government' with अग्नि and ओदन that of कर्मन् with पच् ; उभयतः (iv) that of 'government' with राजमार्ग and पादप that, of कर्मन् with आरुह् (causal); वैय्याकरण a semantic relation of 'superior to with उप.

All these relations are <u>expressed</u> by 2nd विभक्ति attached to respective nominal bases showing these relationships.

Structural explication of these relationships seems easy to describe. A simple statement may be made to the effect

that such and such relationship between such and such nominal bases co-occurring with verbal bases or nominal bases of such and such category is expressed by 2nd विभक्ति.

However, consider the following constructions

(b)

(i) शिशुना ओदनः भुज्यते ।

(ii) शिशुना दिवसम् ओदनः भुज्यते ।

(iii) अग्निम् अन्तरेण कथम् ओदनः पच्यताम् ।

(iv) राजमार्गम् उभयतः पादपाः आरोप्यन्ते ।

(v) शाकटायनेन उप वैय्याकरणान् भूयते ।

These constructions are semantically <u>equivalent</u> with these in (a) though differing in structure. Syntactic and/or semantic relationships between co-occurring pairs are also <u>the same</u>.

However, diversity in representation of these relationships may be noticed. कर्मन् relation is expressed by inflectional affix attached to verbal bases instead of 2nd विभक्ति. On the other hand, non-कारक relations continue to be denoted by 2nd विभक्ति as in (a).

Thus structural explication of <u>representation</u> of these relations as a group is no more as easy to manage as we stated above. Before we proceed any further to pursue this issue, we may introduce some additional data for consideration.

(c)

शिशुः दिवसम् ओदनं भुक्तवान् ।

(d)

(i) शिशुना दिवसम् ओदनः भुक्तः ।

(ii) शिशुना दिवसम् ओदनः भोक्तव्यः ।

191

(iii) शिशुना दिवसम् ओदन: सुभोज: ।

(iv) अग्निम् अन्तरेण ओदन: कथम् पक्व: / पक्तव्य: etc.

(v) राजमार्गम् उभयत: पादपा: आरोपिता: / आरोपितव्या: etc.

(vi) शाकटायनेन उप वैय्याकरणान् भूतम् / भवितव्यम् etc.

Here कर्मन् relation is expressed by various कृत् affixes viz. त (क्त), तव्य (तव्यत्), and अ (खल्). Non-कारक relations, on the other hand, are represented by 2nd विभक्ति all through.

In the face of representation of कर्मन् कारक by multiple elements including 2nd विभक्ति and that of non-कारक relations by 2nd विभक्ति alone, it is obvious that representation of both कारक and non-कारक relations is not feasible to be described by a single structural statement. There have to be two or more statements.

Perhaps to explicate non-कारक relation a single statement may be made spelling out that such and such relations obtaining between such and such pairs are expressed by 2nd विभक्ति.

On the other hand, formulation of a single statement describing representation of कर्मन् कारक appears to be a little tricky since, as pointed out above, it is expressed by such diverse elements as 2nd विभक्ति, verbal inflection and कृत् affixes of various types.

However, a survey of syntactic constructions in which elements denoting कर्मन् are found to participate reveals that these neatly fall into <u>two</u> structural patterns - one in which the 2nd विभक्ति and the other in which rest of the elements participate. In literature these structural patterns are called कर्तृ and कर्मवाच्य respectively.

192

Thus the problem of representation of कर्मन् कारक by different elements may now be relegated to respective construction types and structural statements may be formulated accordingly.

In its explanatory capabilities such a solution is not altogether satisfactory.   It   does   help   explicate representation of कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations. Representation of other कारक relations are not sensitive to construction types. It is thus an ad hoc solution.

Panini hits on a unique strategy. He asserts simply that 2nd विभक्ति expresses कर्मन् in a construction when it has not been expressed (otherwise).

By employing the expression अनभिहित in the meaning 'not expressed (otherwise)', he formulates the statement as follows.

अनभिहिते कर्मणि द्वितीया । (232)

It may be rendered as follows.

> "The 2nd विभक्ति is introduced to express कर्मन् after a nominal base designating it in a construction provided it is not expressed (otherwise)."

By describing representation of कर्मन् कारक in this way Panini avoids ingenuously any reference to construction types. We know for certain from Panini that it is कर्तृवाच्य construction in which कर्मन् is denoted by 2nd विभक्ति and it is कर्मवाच्य where it is expressed otherwise by verbal inflection and कृत् affixes of various types.

Such a construction-neutral statement holds good to denote other relations also.

193

The expession अनभिहिते is structurally significant in conditioning representation of कारक and non-कारक relations by विभक्ति affixes. Thus it is read as distinct statement (231) intended to be read with all the following statements (232-73).

In the context of some of the statements अनभिहिते may be interpreted to mean 'if not expressed otherwise at all'.

For instance, read with कालाध्वनोर् अत्यन्त संयोगे (234). It may be interpreted as follows. 'To denote the relation of 'close contact', the 2nd विभक्ति is introduced after nominal bases denoting 'time' or 'distance even if such a relation is not expressed at all otherwise.' Thus we have दिवसम् अधीते माणवक: 'The student studies all the day'. The relation between दिवस् and अधि-इ is not expressed at all otherwise.

It may however be pointed out that non-कारक relations denoted by a विभक्ति as by 2nd विभक्ति in वनम् अनु अशनिर् गत: 'Lighting flashed close to the forest' described in (238) is reflected in the compound construction अनुवनम् (2115).

To Sum Up

 (i)   Presumably all possible syntactic and/or semantic relations कारक and non-कारक, are the ones consolidated and described in (232-73).

 (ii).   These relations <u>basically</u> obtain in <u>syntactic constructions</u> between pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases (1424-55) and between pairs of nominals as detailed in (232-73).

194

In non-syntactic constructions these are derived from appropriate underlying syntactic constructions. To explicate formation of particular derivatives underlying syntactic constructions may be postulated at theoretical or conceptual level.

It may also be pointed out that to explain derivation of certain items Panini does recognize syntactic relations between two underlined verbal bases. For instance, पठ् 'study' holds कर्मन् relation with इष् 'desire' in the formation of पिपठिष 'desire to study' (317).

(iii) These relations are primarily expressed by nominal विभक्तिs and marginally by other grammatical elements viz. verbal inflections and certain कृत् affixes.

(iv) Being so diverse structurally belonging to different categories and so varied semantically grammatical elements other than nominal विभक्ति cannot be subsumed under any descriptive linguistic level for not sharing any common characteristic.

Functionally, however, these do constitute a group in as much as use of any of these to represent any of these relations in a construction, would prevent nominal विभक्ति from being introduced after nominal bases. In their functional capacity, thus, these may be subsumed under अनभिहित and answer the question - not expressed by whom? And the expression अभिहित implied by use of अनभिहित in this context signifies 'expressed by nominal विभक्तिs, a single grammatical feature.'

195

To reiterate, dichotomy of अभिहित and अनभिहित implied by the statement- (231) is a well-motivated subtle <u>technical</u> device to explicate syntactic relations, कारक and non-कारक, obtaining in syntactic constructions between various co-occurring pairs of nominal and verbal bases and nominal and nominal bases.

We understand that <u>no</u> theoretical assumption underlies in postulation of this dichotomy.

ॐ **Chapter 7**

Representation of कारक relations

We have discussed above after Panini sets of pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases relating to each कारक variety. These pairs may participate in all type of constructions, syntactic, morphological and compositional i.e. nominal compounds.

We may ask- What linguistic elements or structural features mark कारक relations in these constructions?

Theoretically Panini assumes that morphological and compound constructions are based largely on under lying syntactic constructions. This implies that morphological and compound constructions simply reflect कारक relations obtaining in corresponding syntactic constructions. Thus for an overall and insightful understanding of representation of कारक it is of primary importance to study their representation in syntactic constructions. To start with we shall like to begin our probe with simplex syntactic constructions.

Simplex constructions, their types and representation of क ारकs

Any syntactic construction where कारक relations are built around one single verbal base is regarded as simplex. Such a construction may display some non-कारक relations also

197

which nominal bases contract with verbal bases or among themselves variously.

We have demonstrated earlier that simplex constructions fall into three types. Before we proceed to discuss representation of कारकs in these constructions we want to make sure if Panini recognizes any such construction distinctions explicitly and formally.

As we survey Panini we are left with an impression that he does <u>not</u> talk in terms of syntactic constructions and their varieties in so many words.

True, he makes use of the expression वाक्य in (818, 8280 etc.) to denote an utterance. But his mention of the term here does not give us any hint of structural pattern or patterns of utterance he is talking about.

Anyway, we undertake to scrutinize his grammatical account a little more closely.

He does talk of syntactic behavior of verb inflections (ल्). He states that introduced after transitive, सकर्मक, bases, these denote कर्तृ and कर्मन् and कर्तृ and भाव after intransitive, अकर्मक (3469).

Does he mean to say that ति, 3rd person singular and लट् , for instance, denotes, both कर्तृ and कर्मन् after पठ् 'study, recite', a transitive base and कर्तृ and भाव after भू 'become, be', an intransitive one.

It is simply preposterous to put such an interpretation on this statement in the face of linguistic facts.

The statement considered in isolation is too general, vague and confusing. To appreciate it, we have to look for the appropriate context. Let us look around.

There are statements in Panini that describe distribution of inflectional affixes in relation to verbal bases and indicate what notions these express.

From these statements we learn that to express the notion of कर्तृ , कर्मन् and भाव inflectional affixes are not employed indiscriminately. To express कर्मन् and भाव, affixes of आत्मनेपद are used in conformity with linguistic usage (1312, 1317-93). Besides, the set of आत्मनेपद denotes कर्तृ after verbal bases capable of expressing action of reciprocity (कर्म-व्यतिहार, 1314-16).

Thus the statement (3469) read with (1412-92) can be interpreted to convey the sense intended by Panini. To express कर्तृ , affixes of परस्मै and आत्मने are introduced after transitive, सकर्मक, bases per usage and to express कर्मन् only आत्मनेपद. For instance, ति after पठ् denotes कर्तृ and ते, कर्मन् . Such strings are produced.

> पठ्-ति   (कर्तृ)
> पठ्-ते   (कर्मन्)

Again the same affixes may be introduced after भू , an intransitive base, to express कर्तृ and भाव. The strings produced are-

> भू-ति   (कर्तृ)
> भू-ते   (भाव)

Such strings are subjected to other appropriate grammatical processes, which we do not need to detail here. The strings are finally realized as

> पठति   (कर्तृ)
> पठ्यते   (कर्मन्)

199

भवति   (कर्तृ)
भूयते   (भाव)

What do the terms कर्तृ, कर्मन्, and भाव mean?

We may now consider the question what the terms कर्तृ, कर्मन् and भाव denote in this context.

The expression कर्तृ and कर्मन् are used in Panini as technical terms. These denote specific कारक relations. The expression भाव, on the other hand, is not used as a technical term. The vocable belongs to the language of common parlance. In the context all the three terms are intended to express meanings of sets of affixes (ल्), namely परस्मै or आत्मनेपद as introduced after verbal bases सकर्मक , transitive and अकर्मक, intransitive. The affix ति, for instance, in पठति and भवति refers to कर्तृ of actions denoted by पठ् and भू ; ते refers to कर्मन् of the stem पठ् and ते afterभू only भाव , 'action' denoted by the verbal base भू 'becoming'. We presume these are the meanings assigned by Panini to these terms in this context.

However, we may argue that inflected forms, nominal or verbal, do not occur in vacuum. Invariably these form integral part of syntactic constructions. For instance, ति denoting कर्तृ in पठति and भवति may occur in such constructions as.

देवदत्त: व्याकरणम् पठति ।
देवदत्त: अद्य अत्र भवति ।

And ते denoting कर्मन् in पठ्यते in देवदत्तेन व्याकरणम् पठ्यते; and ते denoting भाव in भूयते in देवदत्तेन अद्य अत्र भूयते.

200

The terms कर्तृ , कर्मन् and भाव denoting meanings of verbal inflections here come to designate simultaneously these syntactic constructions respectively in which these participate. In Panini there is no other label to name these.

We may, thus, conclude that Panini <u>does</u> recognize three types of simplex constructions on the bases of what type of inflectional affixes, परस्मै or आत्मनेपद, denoting what structural meanings, occur after what verbal bases.

In one construction involving both transitive and intransitive bases, affixes of either पद may occur per usage in the sense of कर्तृ कारक. Such constructions may be called कर्तृ (3469, 1314-93).

In another type involving only transitive bases affixes of आत मनेपद alone occur denoting कर्मन् कारक relationship. These are called simply कर्मन् (1313, 3469).

Still in another group involving only intransitive verbal bases affixes of आत्मनेपद, 3rd person singular occur to denote the sense of भाव, 'action' denoted by the verbal base involved. These are called भाव (1313, 3469).

In literature, however, these are respectively called कर्तृ-वाच्य, कर्म-वाच्य and भाव-वाच्य, terms used neither in Panini nor in the महाभाष्य.

Structural relationships in simplex constructions

The simplex constructions viz. कर्तृ , कर्मन् and भाव are interrelated structurally. Their interrelationships may be best stated in terms of features of कर्तृ type.

The कर्मन् and भाव types involving transitive and intransitive verbs respectively are perfect reflexes of कर्तृ involving these verb type.

Consider भाव type first. The first विभक्ति after nominal bases in कर्तृ corresponds to 3rd in भाव and verb inflection परस्मै or आत्मनेपद denoting any person and number corresponds to 3rd person singular आत्मनेपद. Illustrative examples are.

(कर्तृ)   वयम् शरदि अपि भूमौ एव शेमहे ।

(भाव)   अस्माभि: शरदि अपि भूमौ एव शय्यते ।

(कर्तृ)   वानरा: वृक्षाणाम् शाखासु लाङ्गूलै: अवलम्बन्ते ।

(भाव)   वानरै: वृक्षाणाम् शाखासु लङ्गूलै: अवलम्ब्यते ।

(कर्तृ)   पान्था: यात्रायाम् वृक्षाणाम् अधस्तात् शिश्रियरे ।

(भाव)   पान्थै: यात्रायाम् वृक्षाणाम् अधस्तात् शिश्रये ।

(कर्तृ)   अस्मिन् उत्सवे सर्वे जना: अहसिषु: ।

(भाव)   अस्मिन् उत्सवे सर्वै: जनै: अहासि ।

In कर्मन् type, 1st विभक्ति after nominal bases in कर्तृ corresponds to 3rd विभक्ति as in भाव, 2nd विभक्ति to 1st and verbal affixes परस्मै or आत्मनेपद showing agreement in person and number with nominal base ending in 1st विभक्ति correspond to आत्मनेपद showing agreement in person and number with nominal base ending in 1st विभक्ति. Examples are

(कर्तृ)   शस्त्राणि आत्मानम् न छिन्दन्ति ।

(कर्मन्)   शस्त्रै: आत्मा न छिद्यते ।

(कर्तृ)   दस्यव: अस्माकम् गा: बलात् जह्रु: ।

(कर्मन्)   दस्युभि: अस्माकम् गाव: बलात् जह्रिरे ।

(कर्तृ)   अहम् तव कथाम् आदित: अश्रौषम् ।

(कर्मन्)   मया तव कथा आदित: अश्रावि ।

Complete structural parallelism between कर्तृ construction, on the one hand, and कर्मन् and भाव, on the other, unmistakably shows that कारक relations obtaining between pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases in कर्तृ are preserved as such in the other two.

Of these relations करण, अपादान, अधिकरण and सम्प्रदान are represented by nominal विभक्तिs which are the only formal distinguishing marks of these relationships in these constructions, verbal forms being identical in all.

Nominal bases holding कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations respectively in कर्तृवाच्य and कर्मवाच्य constructions, on the other hand, are followed by 1st विभक्ति showing agreement with verbal forms in person and number.

The 1st विभक्ति with nominal bases obviously cannot be credited with denoting two different कारक relations viz. कर्तृ and कर्मन् . Rather the pairs holding कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations be better distinguished in terms of their verbal forms. Thus it may be claimed that it is verb inflection in कर्तृवाच्य that expresses कर्तृ कारक relation. Such an affix may be परस्मै or आत्मनेपद as sanctioned by linguistic usage. In कर्म-वाच्य, on the other hand verb inflection which is always आत्मनेपद expresses कर्मन् कारक.

In भाव construction it is कर्तृ relation that holds between pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases. Verbal inflection is here always आत्मनेपद and 3rd person singular. There is no possibility of any syntactic linkage by way of grammatical concord etc. with co-occurring nominal base. The verbal affix is neutralized to representation of any कारक relation. It

may, thus, be surmised that कर्तृ relation is here expressed by 3ʳᵈ विभक्ति with the nominal base. It may occur in any person and number.

It may be concluded that कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारकs alone are represented by verb inflections respectively in कर्तृ-वाच्य and कर्म-वाच्य constructions and all other कारकs are denoted by nominal inflections in all the three simplex types of constructions.

Panini's account of representation of कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारक relations and notion of भाव by verbal inflections is interspersed in several contexts as follows.

a. Panini, in the first instance, makes a generalized statement stating that verb inflections occurring after transitive verbal bases denote कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारकs and कर्तृ and the notion of भाव occurring after intransitive bases (3469). The statement does not specify what inflectional affixes denote these respective distinctions.

b. Next Panini specifies what affixes occurring after what verbal bases denote respectively कर्तृ , कर्मन् and the notion of भाव.

    i.   The आत्मनेपद set of affixes occurring after any verbal base denote कर्मन् कारक and the notion of भाव (1313).

    ii.   The आत्मनेपद affixes coming after verbal bases that denote reciprocity of action (कर्मव्यतिहार) represent कर्तृ कारक (1314).

    iii.   The आत्मनेपद affixes coming after verbal bases enumerated in (1317-77) denote कर्तृ .

204

iv. परस्मै-पद affixes coming after rest of the verbal bases (as enumerated in the धातु-पाठ) excluding those specified above, denote कर्तृ (1378).

v. परस्मै-पद affixes coming after verbal bases described in (1379-93), denote कर्तृ .

It may be mentioned that inflectional affixes denoting distinctions of कर्तृ , कर्मन् and भाव trigger introduction of grammatical elements, called विकरण by later grammarians, after verbal bases. In Panini's system such elements play no (direct) role in representation of कारक or भाव distinctions.

Panini proceeds further to signify that कारक relations not expressed by verbal inflections as stated above, are denoted by nominal inflections as follows.

The कर्तृ कारक in कर्मन् and भाव constructions is denoted by the 3rd विभक्ति (2318); कर्मन् by 2nd विभक्ति in कर्तृ construction (232) and सम्प्रदान, करण, and अधिकरण by the 4th, 3rd, 5th and 7th विभक्ति respectively in all types of constructions (2313, 18, 28, 36).

Panini notices a few exceptions to the above generalizations. These are given below.

i. In the domain of छन्दस् to denote कर्मन् the 3rd विभक्ति comes optionally after nominal bases co-occurring with the verb stem हु 'sacrifice' (233); e.g. यवाग्वा/यवागुम् अग्निहोत्रम् जुहोति "He offers यवागु as an oblation to fire"

ii. To denote कर्मन् 2nd as well as 4th विभक्ति are introduced after nominal bases co-occurring with verbal bases meaning 'moving' when actual movement is involved and nominal base denoting कर्मन् is not a nominal denoting 'path' (2312). E.g. पाटलिपु

त्रम्/पाटलिपुत्राय गच्छति   "He goes to पाटिलपुत्र". But only पन्थानम् गच्छति "He moves on the road".

iii. The 4ᵗʰ विभक्ति expresses कर्मन् of a verb base, not mentioned in the construction explicitly, and which has in construction with it a verbal base performance of whose action is undertaken so that action denoted by it (i.e. the verbal base not stated explicitly) could be performed (क्रियार्थोपपदस्य) (2314). E.g. फलेभ्यः याति 'He goes to fetch fruits'.

Such constructions, though simplex कर्तुवाच्य constructions in appearance, are complex being derived from either फलानि आहर्तुम् याति or फलानि आहरेयम् इति याति.

iv. When sense of 'disrespect' in intended to be conveyed the 4ᵗʰ विभक्ति is introduced optionally after a nominal base not denoting an animate being holding कर्मन् relation with the verbal base मन् 'regard, perceive' (2317). E.g. न अहम् त्वाम् तृणाय/तृणम् मन्ये 'I do not consider you even a straw.'

v. The 3rd विभक्ति is introduced optionally after nominal bases holding कर्मन् relation with the verbal base संज्ञा 'recognize, acknowledge' (2322). E.g. शिशुः पित्रा/पितरम् सञ्जानीते । 'The child recognizes his father'.

vi. To express करण कारक the 5ᵗʰ विभक्ति is introduced optionally after nominal bases स्तोक 'a little'; अल्प 'a little', कृछ्र 'difficult' and कतिपय 'a few' when these do not denote substance (सत्त्व) (2333). E.g.

स्तोकात्/स्तोकेन मुक्तः ।   'He was let off easily'

206

अल्पात्/अल्पेन मुक्त: ।	'He was let off easily'
कृच्छात्/कृच्छ्रेण मुक्त: ।	'He was released with difficulty'
कतिपयात्/कतिपयेन मुक्त: ।	'He was released with a few'

However, when these expressions refer to some substance only 3rd विभक्ति is used to denote कारक ; e.g. स्तोकेन हत: स: 'He was killed with a small quantity (of poison etc.).'

vii.   The 3rd विभक्ति after nominal bases co-occurring with the verbal base दा 'give' preceded by the उपसर्ग <u>सम्</u> expresses the sense of the 4th i.e. denotes सम्प्रदान कारक (1355). E.g. दास्या सम्प्रयच्छते धनम् 'He offers money to the maid servant.' (The intention here is to seduce her by offering money).

viii.   The 6th विभक्ति with nominal bases co-occurring with the verbal base दिव् 'stake gamble' (2358). E.g. शतस्य दीव्यति 'He stakes one hundred'.

ix.   The 6th विभक्ति is employed optionally after the verbal base दिव् when preceded by an उपसर्ग to denote कर्मन् (2359). E.g. शतस्य/शतम् प्रति दीव्यति 'He stakes one hundred'

However, in the domain of the ब्राह्मण there is no option. Only 2nd विभक्ति is introduced (2360). E.g. गाम् अस्य तदह: सभायाम् दीव्येयु: 'They should stake a cow for him that day in the assembly'.

x.   The 6th विभक्ति after nominal bases denoting oblation offered to a divinity, co-occurring with the verbal forms प्रेष्य 'send, offer' and ब्रूहि 'utter, announce'

denote कर्मन् कारक (2361). E.g. अग्नये छागस्य...प्रेष्य/अनुब्रूहि 'offer to Agni the goat ...'

xi.   In the domain of छन्दस् the 6th विभक्ति is used diversely in the sense of the 4th (2362).

The 6th विभक्ति denotes, thus, सम्प्रदान wherever it is found to occur, alone or optionally.

हिमवतो हस्ती   'An elephant to Himvat'
पुरुषमृग: चन्द्रमस:/चन्द्रमसे   'A male deer to the moon.'

xii.   In the domain of छन्दस् the 6th विभक्ति occurs diversely after nominal bases co-occurring with the verbal base यज् sacrifice to denote करण (2363). E.g.

घृतस्य यजते   'He sacrifice with ghee'
घृतेन यजते   'He sacrifice with ghee'

Representation in complex utterances

We presume that syntactic constructions built around one single verbal base as nucleus are considered simple utterances in Panini.

It follows that constructions spun around two or more verbal bases, related among themselves one or the other various ways, may be called complex.

It may be observed in general that in a complex construction there are as many sets of कारक relations as are there verbal bases, each verbal base having a network of its specific relations.

It may be maintained further that a complex utterance is analyzable into two or more simple utterances built around

208

each individual participating verbal base and कारक relations in it are simply reflex of relations obtaining in underlying simple utterances.

It may, thus, be postulated that from the standpoint of their formation complex utterances are derived from two or more simple utterances related mutually. In other words it is two or more such simple utterances that evolve into one unified structure.

Now to study and identify कारक relations in a complex utterance which is nothing but a unified structure of two or more simple utterances, we may be required to roll constituents in a complex utterance back to their underlying structures. This amounts to, in a way, reversing the process of formation of these constituents. That is true.

Anyway there is no denying the fact that sets of syntactic relationships in complex utterances and their underlying simple utterances are identical. If these are not identified immediately it is because same of the syntactic constructions in underlying structures are now camouflaged in morphological and other constructions in complex utterances that arise as a consequence of grammatical processes of merging together of simple utterances into complex ones.

We have described above how कारक relations are represented in simple utterances. Here we propose to discuss a couple of illustrative examples of complex utterances noticed by Panini and see how the same कारक relations are represented here.

Now consider the following constructions.

1.   पुत्रेण सह आयाति पिता ।
2.   तिलै: सह माषान् वपति कृषक: ।

209

3.   रथेन सह अश्वान् क्रीणाति सार्थवाह: ।

4.   पुत्रेण सह स्थूल: पिता ।

5.   पुत्रेण सह गोमान् पिता ।

6.   शिष्येण सह उपाध्यायस्य गौ: ।

Semantic interpretation of these constructions implies that each one of these is equivalent to two simplex constructions as follows.

i.   (a).   पुत्र: आयाति ।

         (b).   पिता आयाति ।

ii.   (a).   तिलान् वपति कृषक: ।

         (b).   माषान् वपति कृषक: ।

iii.   (a).   रथम् क्रीणाति सार्थवाह: ।

         (b).   अश्वान् क्रीणाति सार्थवाह: ।

iv.   (a).   पुत्र: स्थूल: ।

         (b).   पिता स्थूल: ।

v.   (a).   पुत्र: गोमान् ।

         (b).   पिता गोमान् ।

vi.   (a).   शिष्यस्य गौ: ।

         (b).   उपाध्यायस्य गौ: ।

Constructions in each set display identical structures. Besides, constructions in each set share linguistic entities denoting verbal forms, qualifying epithets, epithets expressing common ownership of the same object, etc.

These factors, thus, provide ample justification on structural and semantic grounds to collapse each set into a composite (complex) construction.

How do we proceed to obtain a composite structure? We assume it is for the speaker to choose to merge (a) with (b)

or (b) with (a). In (i), for instance, the speaker opts to merge (a), पुत्रः आयाति with (b) पिता आयाति.

Now the nominal base पितृ , the linguistic entity distinguishing (b) as distinct from (a) receives prominence. It is regarded as प्रधान, principal; and पुत्र as a consequence of it, is considered अप्रधान् .

What happens next?

Collapsing (a) and (b) involves same structural adjustments. Structure of (b) with पितृ as प्रधान remains intact. On the other hand, the structure with अप्रधान undergoes some changes.

In the first place repetition of shared linguistic entity i.e. आयाति, is done away with. To indicate its covert presence the particle सह is introduced and construed with पुत्र, अप्रधान.

With the induction of सह another structural consequence follows. The 3rd विभक्ति replaces the 1st विभक्ति attached to पुत्र. Thus the structure पुत्रः आयाति as अप्रधान vis-à-vis आयाति पिता, the प्रधान one, is realized as पुत्रेण सह, a phrase.

Now the two constructions पुत्रः आयाति and आयाति पिता merged together assume the structure पुत्रेण सह आयाति पिता in the sense 'the son as well as the father are coming'.

As stated above, it is for the speaker to give eminence to either of the constructions in a set. If he now pleases to give eminence to पुत्रः आयाति (b), the structure आयाति पिता comes to be regarded as अप्रधान. It is subjected to the same processes of structural adjustments as described above for being observed in the composite construction. We have now पित्रा सह आयाति पुत्रः in the same meanings.

In other sets also constructions with nominal stems considered अप्रधान, non-principal, undergo the same processes of structural adjustments. We may, thus, have respectively the following complex utterances.

i.   तिलैः सह माषान् वपति कृषकः ।   or   माषै: सह तिलान् वपति कृषकि ।
ii. रथेन सह अश्वान् क्रीणाति सार्थवाह: । or   अश्वै: सह रथम् क्रीणाति सार्थवाह: ।
iii. पुत्रेण सह स्थूल: पिता ।   or   पित्रा सह स्थूल: पुत्र: ।
iv. पुत्रेण सह गोमान् पिता ।   or   पित्रा सह गोमान् पुत्र: ।
v.   शिष्येण सह उपाध्यायस्य गौ: ।   or   उपाध्यायेन सह शिष्यस्य गौ: ।

Representation of syntactic relations

In each set of constructions given above, syntactic relations obtaining respectively between nominal bases regarded as प्रधान and अप्रधान on the one hand and the shared linguistic elements on the others, are the same. However, these are expressed variously as follows.

Syntactic relations between पुत्र-आया and पितृ-आया are identical i.e. that of कर्तृ . It is expressed by inflectional affix in the pair involving प्रधान and 3rd विभक्ति with अप्रधान.

In (i) it is the कर्मन् relation that holds between तिल-वप् and माष -वप्. It is expressed by 2nd विभक्ति with प्रधान and 3rd विभक्ति with अप्रधान. Similarly कर्मन् relation between अश्व-क्री and रथ-क्री is represented respectively by 2nd and 3rd विभक्तिs.

It may be pointed out that Panini does not state anywhere even obliquely that the 3rd विभक्ति may express कर्मन् relation. However, in the complex construction under discussion there is no other linguistic element except the 3rd विभक्ति that could represent it.

212

In this context we may refer to Patanjali's discussion of the example तिलैः सह माषान् वपति.

He paraphrases it as तिलैः मिश्रीकृत्य माषा उप्यन्ते, 'The माष, beans are sown mixed up with तिल, sesame seeds'. The 3rd विभक्ति with तिल here denotes करण vis-à-vis the verb stem मिश्रीकृ.

The opponent points out to another interpretation of the utterance under discussion. He argues as follows.

True, use of 3rd विभक्ति to denote करण is justified when माष are being sown mixed up with sesame seeds. However, on the other hand, if time has arrived to sow the seeds of माष and field has been prepared for it and if something else is also sown there thinking that 'if it grows, well and good, if not, it does not matter'. In that case use of 3rd विभक्ति to denote करण is not justified.

> "भवेत् सिद्धम् यदा तिलैर्मिश्रीकृत्योप्येरन् । यदा तु खलु कस्यचित् माषबीजा वाप उपस्थितस् तदर्थम् क्षेत्रम् उपार्जितम् , तत्रान्यद् अपि किञ्चिद् उप्येत- यदि भविष्यति भविष्यति इति, तदा न सिध्यति" (भाष्य. on 2319).

Patanjali is non-committal as to what relationship the 3rd विभक्ति would denote in that case. Nor does the opponent clinch the issue. The matter is left undecided. However, we are inclined to interpret use of 3rd विभक्ति here to denote कर्मन् कारक. Panini has not to make a separate statement to indicate this. Linguistic data underlying formulation of this statement is enough to bear it out. The 3rd विभक्ति does denote कर्मन् relation with nominal stems co-occurring with the verb stem हु 'sacrifice' in the domain of छन्दस् (233).

213

Syntactic relationship of subject, उद्देश्य and predicate, विधेय obtains between पुत्र-स्थूल and पितृ-स्थूल in (iii) and पुत्र-गोमान् and पितृ-गोमान् in (iv). It is denoted respectively by 3rd विभक्ति with अ प्रधान and 1st विभक्ति with प्रधान.

Again the semantic relationship of 'owner, स्वामिन् ' and 'thing owned, स्व' exists between शिष्य-गो and उपाध्याय-गो. It is denoted by 3rd विभक्ति with अप्रधान and 6th with प्रधान.

Now to explicate formation of complex structure from underlying simplex structures of the types illustrated above, all that Panini has to do is to incorporate structural changes taking place in the simplex construction with nominal base regarded as अप्रधान since the structure involving the nominal base considered as प्रधान remains intact. These changes are.

    i.   Dropping of shared element.

    ii.   Induction of the particle सह in construction with अप्रधान (implying simultaneity of performance of action by it), and

    iii.   Induction of 3rd विभक्ति with अप्रधान.

Reflecting these changes Panini's formulation reads as follows.

सहयुक्ते अप्रधाने (तृतीया) (2319).

Here the expression तृतीया is read from the preceding statement. It may be rendered as follows.

     "The 3rd विभक्ति comes after nominal base not regarded as principal (अप्रधान) as construed with सह".

It is a generalized statement accounting for कारक and non-कारक relations as discussed above.

Consider now the following utterances.

i.   वेदान् अध्येष्ये इति माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

ii.   वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

iii.   वेदान् अध्यायक: माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

iv.   वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

v.   वेदाध्याय: माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

We propose to discuss these together as a group for the simple reason that all of these are built around the same verbal bases, involve the same nominal bases and are equivalent semantically.

Structurally, however, each one of these may be regarded as complex, constituted of two parts. One of these namely म णवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद is shared by them, the other being different structurally variously.

We may begin our discussion with (i). The two constructions with अधि-इ and उप-सद् as nuclei are more transparent in their structures.

The verbal form अध्येष्ये here is 1ˢᵗ person singular belonging to the paradigm लृट् denoting 'future' (3313). It implies that the pronominal form अहम् 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति singular from अस्मद् is understood to co-occur with it. It could be expressed explicitly also (14107). Thus वेदान् अध्येष्ये may be expanded into अहम् वेदान् अध्येष्ये.

The construction (i) may now be restated as follows.

अहम् वेदान् अध्येष्ये इति माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

As stated above semantic interpretation of this group of constructions implies that कर्तृ of अधि-इ and उपसद् refer to the same entity i.e. अहम् . It may be substituted by माणवक: thus

215

the complex construction (i) is now analyzed into following two simplex constructions.

     a.   माणवक: वेदान् अध्येष्यते ।

     b.   माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

These are conjoined together by the particle इति.

But what allows the speaker to do that? There is no possible structural relationship between the two utterances that would permit him to collapse these together. Nor is there anything inherent semantically in them that would allow him to merge these into one complex construction.

The speaker, however, is free to propose any meaningful, pragmatic relationship feasible between these two acts. Here the speaker may postulate a relationship of intent, purpose and means of its realization. He revolves in his mind to study the Vedas and decides to achieve this end by approaching a teacher. The two acts, no longer as unrelated activities, converge to one goal viz. that of 'studying' the Vedas. The act of 'approaching' the teacher is being performed so that the student could learn the Vedas. Performance of one action (क्रिया) is for the sake of performance of another action (क्रियार्थ) as Panini puts it.

Such a pragmatic relationship implies earlier and later sequence of two actions. The act of 'studying' can be undertaken only when the act of 'approaching' has been accomplished. The later action, thus, takes place always in future irrespective of time reference of the earlier action.

Thus, when two actions are being performed by the same entity and one action is performed for the sake of performance of the other action, the two simplex constructions describing these actions may be combined into

216

one complex construction. The verbal base denoting later action is to express 'futurity' which may be expressed variously grammatically.

One of the options is to introduce inflectional affixes of the paradigm लृट् which express 'futurity' in general, शेषे, and also in the environments discussed above (3313). The affixes are introduced after अधि-इ which denotes 'purpose'.

Now the simplex utterances

(a) माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद । and

(b) माणवकः वेदान् अध्येष्यते ।

serve as underlying structure for denoting a complex structure.

In the first step the two clauses may be brought together conjoining these with the particle इति meaning 'thus, so'. We now have

माणवकः वेदान् अध्येष्यते इति माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

The clause (b) expresses the intention of माणवकः. It may be replaced by 1st person pronominal form in the complex structure. We may thus have

अहम् वेदान् अध्येष्ये इति माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

Since अहम् is expressed by the verbal form अध्येष्ये also its explicit mention may be eschewed. Finally we may have

वेदान् अध्येष्ये इति माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

Each of the clauses here conforms to कर्तृ type of constructions. In कर्मवाच्य it may be represented as follows.

वेदा अध्येष्यन्ते इति माणवकेन आचार्यः उपससदे ।

217

It may be pointed out that in both clauses कारक relations between nominal and verbal bases in कर्तृ and कर्मन् type constructions are the same. These are however, represented differently. The कर्तृ relation between अस्मद् (not expressed) and अधि-इ and माणवक and उपसद् is expressed by verbal inflectional affixes in कर्तृवाच्य and by 3rd विभक्ति in कर्मवाच्य. (the 3rd विभक्ति form मया form अस्मद् is not mentioned). The कर्मन् relation between वेद and अधि-इ and आचार्य and उपसद् is respectively denoted by 2nd विभक्ति in कर्तृ type and by verbal inflections in कर्मन् type.

Panini's formulation of structural statement describing formation of the complex utterance of the type discussed here is as follows.

क्रियायाम् क्रियार्थायाम् भविष्यति धातोः लृट् शेषे च । (3313).

Here the expressions क्रियायाम् and क्रियार्थायाम् are read from (3310), भविष्यति from (333) and धातोः from (3191).

In fact this is a composite statement consisting of the following two statements.

(i)   भविष्यति धातोः लृट् ।

To denote futurity inflectional affixes of paradigm लृट् are introduced after the verbal base. E.g. करिष्यामि (कृ-लृट्) 'I shall do'; यास्यति (या-लृट्) 'He will go' etc.

It is a general statement. The affixes come after any and every verbal base.

(ii)   क्रियायाम् क्रियार्थम् धातोः भविष्यति लृट् ।

To denote futurity affixes of the paradigm लृट् are introduced after a verb base co-occurring with

218

> another base performance of whose action is for the sake of performance of action denoted by this base.

The लुट् affixes in this case come after only such verbal bases which occur in environments specified in the structural statement and discussed by us in greater details above.

The composite statement may be rendered as follows.

> "To denote futurity affixes of paradigm लुट् are introduced after any verbal base as also after a base that occurs with another verbal base performance of whose action is for the sake of performance of action denoted by it".

A few more examples of such complex utterances are.

> वित्तम् उपलप्स्यते इति नृपम् अभ्यगच्छत् विप्र: ।
> तपोधनम् द्रक्ष्यामि इति प्रविशति तपोवनम् नृप: ।
> शयिष्ये इति गृहम् प्रत्यागमिष्यति देवदत्त: ।

We may next consider formation of the complex utterance.

> वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

Its formation is traced back to the same underlying simple sentences given above.

The derivative suffix तुमुन्=तुम् expresses 'futurity' in the environments stated in (3310). It is thus introduced after the verbal base अधि-इ in 'purpose' clause. It now assumes the following form.

> वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवक: ।

The derivative suffix तुमुन् here expresses 'futurity' (333). It denotes neither कर्तृ nor कर्मन् . To express कर्मन् 2nd विभक्ति is introduced after Veda as shown above (232). How is कर्तृ to be expressed?

219

The 'purpose' clause structurally forms part of the complex structure to be evolved. With 'purpose' clause conjoined to the main clause, the complex structure assumes the following shape.

वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवक: - माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

To straighten out structural redundancies (oddities) in the complex structure repetition of identical entity, namely माणवक holding कर्तृ relation with verbal bases in both the clauses has to be eschewed.

We presume it is माणवक in 'purpose' clause that is shed off for the reason that it hangs there without any structural prop to mark its कर्तृ relationship. On the other hand, in the main clause inflectional affixes after verbal base express this relationship. Thus there is all the reason to retain माणवक in the main clause.

With two माणवक expressions, referring to the same entity, fallen together the complex structure comes to assume the following form.

वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

The complex construction confirms to the कर्तृवाच्य pattern. Here माणवक holds कर्तृ relation with अधि-इ in 'purpose' clause as well as with उपसद् in the main clause. However it is marked identically by verb inflection attached to उपसद् .

The corresponding कर्मवाच्य version is.

वेदान् अध्येतुम् माणवकेन आचार्य: उपससदे ।

Here again कर्तृ relation with both the verbal bases in marked identically by 3rd विभक्ति affix attached to माणवक.

220

How is कर्मन् कारक represented here?

Unlike कर्तृ , कर्मन् कारक is not shared by verbal bases. It is thus expressed diversely in 'purpose' and main clauses. In 'purpose' clause the nominal base holding कर्मन् relation with अधि-इ is part of an अव्यय phrase. As such it is insensitive to any further structural changes. It is, so to say, neutralized in favor of कर्तृवाच्य construction. Its structure remains invariant. We may claim that कर्मन् relation is expressed by 2nd विभक्ति in both the types of constructions.

In the main clause कर्मन् is represented by 2nd विभक्ति in कर्तृवाच्य and by verb inflection in कर्मवाच्य.

Besides कर्तृ in some constructions कर्मन् may also be shared e.g.

<div align="center">देवदत्तः ओदनम् भोक्तुम् पचति । or   देवदत्तः भोक्तुम् ओदनम् पचति ।</div>

Here ओदन holds कर्मन् relation with both भुज् (purpose clause) and पच् (main clause).

The formation of the complex utterance may be traced back to the following simple constructions related mutually.

<div align="center">देवदत्तः ओदनम् भोक्ष्यते ।   (purpose cause).</div>
<div align="center">देवदत्तः ओदनम् पचति ।   (main clause).</div>

The process of formation of complex construction is the same as described above. Entities denoting कर्तृ and कर्मन् relation in the 'purpose' clause are dropped. What survives of the 'purpose' clause is the expression भोक्तुम् only. Mention of these entities is made just once in the main clause. Since in syntactic construction there are practically no constraints on

order of constituents. The complex construction is thus realized as follows.

देवदत्तः ओदनम् भोक्तुम् पचति ।   or   देवदत्तः भोक्तुम् ओदनम् पचति ।

This pattern conforms to कर्तृवाच्य. The कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations are expressed by inflectional affixes with पच् and 2nd विभक्ति with ओदन respectively.

Corresponding कर्मवाच्य constructions are as follows.

देवदत्तेन ओदनः भोक्तुम् पच्यते ।   or   देवदत्तेन भोक्तुम् ओदनः पच्यते ।

Here कर्तृ relation is expressed by 3rd विभक्ति with देवदत्त and कर्मन् by inflectional affixes attached to पच् .

In the complex construction what survives of 'purpose' construction is the expression भोक्तुम् . Nominal bases देवदत्त and ओदन are construed implicitly with भुज् . However कारक relation with it are expressed by grammatical elements going with पच् in the main clause.

Juxtaposition of ओदनः with भोक्तुम् may give a false impression that ओदनः भोक्तुम् is a कर्मवाच्य construction. Far from that. As an अव्यय the derivative भोक्तुम् expresses neither कर्तृ nor कर्मन् here.

Consider the following complex utterance.

वेदान् अध्यायकः माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

This is based on the same set of simple utterances given above. The affix ण्वुल्(=अक) denotes 'futurity' (333) in the environments described in (3310). Thus it is introduced after अधि-इ in the 'purpose' clause which now assumes the following form.

वेदान् अध्यायक: माणवक: ।

Here the nominal stem वेद denoting कर्मन् relation with अधि-इ does not take to the 6th विभक्ति to express it according to (2366). Rather it take 2nd as it forms exception to the above as stated in (2370).

The derivative अध्यायक is adjectival. It is construed with माणवक in the purpose clause. However, when 'purpose' clause is merged in the main clause mention of माणवक in it is eschewed. As a consequence अध्यायक is construed with माणवक in the main clause. The complex utterance comes to acquire the following shape.

वेदान् अध्यायक: माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

It confirms to कर्तृवाच्य pattern. The कर्तृ relation here is expressed by inflectional affix attached to the verbal base उपसद् . And कर्मन् relation is expressed by 2nd विभक्ति (232).

Corresponding कर्मवाच्य construction is as follows.

वेदान् अध्यायकेन माणवकेन आचार्य: उपससदे ।

Here कर्मन् relation is expressed by inflectional affix attached to the verbal base उपसद् and कर्तृ by 3rd विभक्ति. Since the nominal stem अध्यायक is construed with माणवक as an adjectival epithet, it takes 3rd विभक्ति and expresses कर्तृ .

It may be pointed out that representation of कर्मन् कारक in वेद is not affected by what happens structurally in the complex utterance as a whole since कर्मन् relation in 'purpose' clause is determined internally.

Consider the following complex construction.

वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय माणवक: आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

This is also derived from the same set of simple sentences. The 'purpose' clause here is represented as वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय माणवक: as formed from the underlying structure वेदान् अध्येष्यते माणवक: ।

The कृत् affixes denoting verbal action described under भावे (3318) denote 'futurity' also in the present context. The affix ल्युट् (=अन्) denoting verbal action (33115) may be introduced after अधि-इ. The derivative अध्ययन, thus, denotes the act of 'studying' referring to future.

The कर्मन् relation that वेद holds with अधि-इ comes to be denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति when the verbal base is followed by a कृत् affix, here अन (2366). Thus we have the phrase वेदानाम् अध्ययनम् .

Such a syntactic phrase is perfectly acceptable if the derivative affix denotes simple verbal action and not 'futurity' also, the sense expressed by तुम् also(3310). When the affix denotes these meanings, it takes 4ᵗʰ विभक्ति (2315). Thus we have

वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय ।

Now माणवक holding कर्तृ relation with अधि-इ is shared by the main clause where it holds the same relation with उपसद् . As argued earlier its mention in 'purpose' clause is eschewed. Merging the phrase वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय in the main clause and dropping माणवक which otherwise would have taken 3ʳᵈ विभक्ति to express कर्तृ in the phrase by (2318), the complex structure emerges as follows.

वेदानाम् अध्ययनाय माणवकेन आचार्य: उपससदे ।

Here it may be noted that कारक relation between माणवक and अधि-इ (where माणवक is dropped) is indicated by elements in the main clause viz. affixes going with उपसद् and 3ʳᵈ विभक्ति.

A few more examples of such constructions may be given below.

> (i).   युध्येरन् भवन्तो हरीणाम् मोहनाय ।

Here the कर्तृ relation which is identical between भवत्-युध् and भवत्-मोहय (causal from मुह्) is identical and is expressed by the affix ईरन् in युध्येरन् in the main clause.

> (ii).   त्वम् वधाय आशु निर्याहि रामस्य ।

Here the कर्तृ relation between युष्मद्-हन् and युष्मद्-निर्या is denoted by हि in the main clause.

> (iii).   अहम् स्वयम् रिपुनाशाय विजयाय च रणशीर्षम् गमिष्यामि ।

Here कर्तृ relation between अस्मद्-नाशय (causal form नश्), अस्मद्-विजि and अस्मद्-गम् is denoted by मि in the main clause.

Here is another complex utterance based on the same set of underlying simple utterances. वेदाध्याय: माणवक आचार्यम् उपससाद ।

The compound form वेदाध्याय qualifying माणवक is derived from the purpose clause वेदान् अध्येष्यते माणवक: ।

The derivative affix अण्(अ) coming after a transitive verbal base, सकर्मक, expresses 'futurity' in the present context. Added to अधि-इ, the derivative formed is अध्याय meaning 'one who will study' (i.e. 'so that one may study').

However derivative is not a free form. It is obligatorily compounded with the nominal form co-occurring with it denoting कर्मन् relation (2219). Thus, we have वेदाध्याय.

225

The constituent माणवकः वेदान् अध्येष्यते is now reduced to the phrase वेदाध्यायः माणवकः where the compound is used adjectively qualifying माणवक.

Conjoining the phrase with the main clause and dropping the common element माणवक we have.

<div align="center">वेदाध्यायः माणवकः आचार्यम् उपससाद ।</div>

The structure conforms to कर्तृवाच्य pattern. Corresponding कर्मवाच्य construction is.

<div align="center">वेदाध्यायेन माणवकेन आचार्यः उपससदे ।</div>

The कर्तृकारक relation between माणवक-अधि-इ and माणवक-उपसद् is denoted in the complex sentence by verbal affix in कर्तृवाच्य and by 3rd विभक्ति in कर्मवाच्य. On the other hand, in कर्मवाच्य कर्मन् relation between वेद-अधि-इ is denoted structurally by the compound form and that between आचार्य and उपसद् by verb inflection.

A few more examples of such complex construction are as follows.

(i).   प्रविविक्तां नदीम् रात्रावुदाहारो अहम् आगतः । (रा. 1.63.26)
       'To fetch water I had come to the solitary river at night'.

(ii).   फलाहारो गतो राजन् पिता मे इत आश्रमात् । (महा. 1.6.75)
       'O king! To get fruits my father is gone away from this hermitage'.

We shall like to discuss one more set of complex utterances.

a.   काकस् तथा आचरति यथा श्येनः ।
b.   श्येन इव आचरति काकः ।
c.   श्येनायते काकः ।

All these are equivalent semantically meaning 'The crow behaves like a hawk'.

Conceptually these may be regarded as derivatives from the following underlying constructions.

     i.   काक: आचरति ।
     ii.   श्येन: आचरति ।

As independent and unrelated constructions, these simply describe how काक and श्येन conduct themselves. There are, thus, no grounds to combine these together into simple unit unless the speaker establishes some sort of relationship between them. For instance, he may see a pragmatic relationship between their behaviors. He may compare the behavior of one with that of the other. He may notice that काक is attempting to behave like श्येन. In that case श्येन becomes the object of comparison, उपमान; काक the 'object' compared उपमेय and आचर् denotes the 'common property सामान्य-धर्म ' which serves as basis of comparison.

Now on the base of such pragmatic relation there is ample raison deter to collapse these two constructions into one together. There are several options available to the speaker.

One alternative is the use of the particles यथा 'as' and तथा 'so' denoting correlation between them with regard to their behavior. The other alternative is the employment of the particle इव 'as, in the manner as' with the entity denoting 'object of comparison'. Whether we opt for the use of correlative particles यथा-तथा or इव showing comparison, repetition of verbal form is avoided and the complex structures realized are as (a) and (b) given above respectively.

Panini, however, does not seem to describe these formations since no point of linguistic structure is involved in their formations. Induction of appropriate lexical items in syntactic constructions to express desired meanings simply relates to facts of linguistic usages which according to Panini does not fall within the scope of structural description of language (शब्दानुशासन).

There is yet another option. A verbalizing affix य (क्यङ्) denoting 'behave like' is added after the nominal form (3111). It implies that we have available to us the complex construction.

काक: श्येन इव आचरति ।

The affix य (क्यङ्) is introduced after श्येन:. The string श्येन:-क्यङ् thus produced is subjected to appropriate phonological processes and is realized as श्येनाय 'behave like a hawk'.

Now the phrase श्येन इव आचरति can be replaced by श्येनायते the complex sentence is realized finally as follows.

काक: श्येनायते ।

It confirms to कर्तृवाच्य pattern. Here काक holds कर्तृ relation with श्येनाय which is regarded as a regular verbal base in the language. The कर्तृ relation is expressed by the inflectional affix ते.

The verbal base श्येनाय is treated as intransitive, the corresponding भाववाच्य construction is as follows.

काकेन श्येनायते ।

Here कर्तृ is expressed by 3rd विभक्ति with काक.

On the other hand the कर्तृ relation behavior श्येन-आचर् is expressed by the derivative affix य in the morphological construction श्येनाय.

A few more examples of complex utterances involving derivative (denominative) verbal base may be given here.

i.   यस्मिन् देशे वृक्षो नास्ति ऐरण्डो अपि <u>द्रुमायते</u> तत्र ।

ii.   एको भिक्षुर् यथोक्तस् तु द्वौ भिक्षू मिथुनम् स्मृतम् ,

त्रयो ग्राम: समाख्यात: ऊर्ध्वम् तु नगरायते । (दक्षस्मृति 7.34)

"If the mendicant is by himself he is really what he is supposed to be; if they are two they constitute a pair; and three come to form a crowd and beyond that they make a town".

iii.   विविधाभ्रघनापन्न गोचरो धवलाम्बर:,

दृश्यादृश्य तनुर् वीरस् तथा <u>चन्द्रायते</u> अम्बरे । (रा.)

"Flying across variegated thick of clouds, the brave (Hanuman), clad in white, with his body visible now and out of sight next moment, seems to simulate, thus, the moon in the sky".

iv.   तीक्ष्ण-तापकर: सूर्य: नभसो मध्यम् आस्थित:;

माम् आसीनम् विदित्वैव <u>चन्द्रायति</u> दिवाकर: । (रा. 7.21.28)

(रावण says) "Simply realizing that I am here, the sun, the day maker, generating fiery heat, standing at zenith, becomes cool like moon".

Use of परस्मैपद in चन्द्रायति however does not accord with Panini.

Here कर्तृ relation between एरण्ड-द्रुमाय, ऊर्ध्व-नगराय, वीर-चन्द्राय and दिवाकर-चन्द्राय are expressed by inflectional affixes.

229

In the derivative verbal bases कर्तृ relations between द्रुम-आचर्
, नगर्-आचर् , चन्द्र-आचर् are denoted by derivative affix य
which also denotes the sense of 'behave like'.

Representation of कारक relations in non-syntactic constructions

Above we have described representation of कारक relations obtaining between pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases in syntactic constructions, simplex and complex. There are also non-syntactic constructions, namely morphological and nominal compounds in the formation of some of which these pairs may be found to participate. We shall examine here briefly how कारक relations are represented in such constructions.

कृदन्त constructions

Panini observes that कर्तृ affixes in general denote कर्तृ (3467). These may denote other कारक relations also, although not so frequently. These affixes may he introduced directly after verbal bases to signify a particular कारक. The derivative forms thus produced are what we call free forms. Or these may come after only such verbal bases that are in construction with various types of syntactic units. Formation of derivatives is thus conditioned by grammatical entities in construction with verbal bases. Such derivatives do not participate freely on their own in syntactic constructions. These are mostly compounded obligatorily with entities in construction with them. Besides denoting particular कारक relations these affixes may express some specific semantic

nuances also. Illustrative examples given below will make it clear.

Before we proceed further we shall like to make clear another point which bears on interpretation of कृत् structural statements.

We have been working with the hypothesis that in Panini a कारक relation obtains between a pair of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases participating in a syntactic construction. The कारक is designated by nominal base and it is expressed by linguistic elements attached either to nominal or verbal base.

Now the question arises – Are such pairs and respective कारक relationships obtaining between them are mentioned explicitly in structural statements describing कर्तृ formations? If not, how are these identified?

To make clear our approach to this problem we discuss below formation of two derivatives.

Consider the derivative अनुमन्तृ 'one who assents'. Description of its formation per Panini may be stated as follows.

To denote कर्तृ , the कर्तृ affix तृ (=तृच्) is introduced after the verbal stem अनुमन् {धातोः ण्वुल्-तृचौ कर्तरि (31133). Here धातोः and कर्तरि are read respectively from (3191 and (3467)}.

The कारक relation in Panini holds between pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases in syntactic constructions. The structural statement referred to above does not allude to any syntactic construction and occurrence in it of any pair of nominal and verbal bases holding कर्तृ

relation. It simply avers that the कृत् affix तृ denoting कर्तृ is introduced after a verbal base, here अनुमन् ; nothing more.

The question is – Where is the nominal base to pair with अनु मन् ?

In another context, however, Panini states that inflectional affixes occurring after verbal bases express कर्तृ relation (3469). The set of inflectional affixes ते etc. admissible to अनु मन् , thus, may be introduced after it to denote कर्तृ . In the inflected form अनुमन्यते, thus, produced, the affix ते denotes क र्तृ .

The inflected affixes ते etc. are not supposed to occur in vacuum syntactically. The inflectional affix ते implies that the inflected form is construed with a nominal base denoting 3rd person compatible semantically with it and ending in the 1st विभक्ति singular.

If no specific nominal base as कर्तृ is intended to be mentioned, the appropriate form of the pronominal base यद् 'who', serving as variable, may be employed here. Thus the syntactic construction अनुमन्यते य meaning 'one who gives assent to' is produced. Any inflected form is, thus, implicitly embedded in a syntactic construction of one type or the other. The syntactic construction given above belongs to कर्तृवा च्य type.

Now अनुमन्यते and अनुमन्तृ , though belonging to two different structural levels, are in a way at par. In one it is the inflectional affix ते and in the other the derivative affix तृ that denote कर्तृ . The syntactic structure अनुमन्यते यः may very well serve as underlying construction for formation of the कर्तृ

derivative. The affix तृ may be introduced after अनुमन् , the string अनुमन्-तृ leads to the formation of the desired form अनुमन्तृ .

It may thus be claimed that कर्तृ derivatives denoting कारक relations are made by affixation from verbal bases holding particular कारक relation with co-occurring nominal bases represented by (variable) pronominal base यद् or तद् in underlined simplex utterance of one type or the other. The underlying structure for अनुमन्तृ , for instance, may be shown as अनुमन्यते य इति अनुमन्ता or simply अनुमन्यते इति अनुमन्ता.

This has been a standard practice with Panini's students from very ancient times. For instance, we find in the महाभाष्य such illustrations of कर्तृ derivatives as follows.

> अवतनोतीति अवतान: 'that which covers, a canopy' (अवतन् -श) (भाष्य. on वा. 1, 31140)
>
> लिम्पतीति लिम्प: 'that which besmears, plaster' (लिप्-श) (भाष्य. on वा. 6, 321)
>
> दारयन्तीति दारा:   'wife' (दृ (causal)- णि लुक्) (भाष्य. on वा. 4, 3310)
>
> जरयन्तीति जारा:   'a paramour' (जृ (causal) -णि (लुक्)) (भाष्य. on वा. 4, 3320).

Thus in the formation of कर्तृ derivatives like अनुमन्तृ denoting कर्तृ relation, the nominal and verbal bases are denoted by an appropriate form of the pronominal base यद् , तद् or एतद् etc. as shown above.

We may now consider another कृत् derivative, namely, धि which is noticed as final component in such compound forms

233

as उदधि, जलधि, वारिधि, इषुधि, शरधि etc. as illustrated, for instance, in the following utterances.

> ननाद च द्यौर् उदधिश्च चुक्षुभे । (रा. 5.74.13)
> "The heaven thundered and the ocean roared".
> जलधिम् तितीर्षुः ।
> "Desirous of crossing the ocean".

How does Panini explicate its formation?

Formally the expression धि may be segmented into two constituents viz. धा, a verbal base meaning 'hold, put, place' and the कृत् affix इ, represented lexically as कि (3393).

The affix कि denotes अधिकरण relation. However, it is introduced after धा not directly but only when the verbal base holds कर्मन् relation with a nominal base in construction with it. For instance in the following simple constructions धा holds कर्मन् relation with nominal bases उदक, जल, इषु etc.

> | उदकम् धीयते | 'Water is held'. |
> | जलम् धीयते | 'Water is held'. |
> | इषवः धीयन्ते | 'Arrows are held'. |
> | शराः धीयन्ते | 'Arrows are held'. |

All these illustrate कर्मवाच्य type constructions. Corresponding कर्तृवाच्य type may equally legitimately illustrate कर्मन् relation with उदक etc. e.g.

> | उदकम् दधाति | |
> | जलम् दधाति | |
> | इषून् दधाति | etc. |

It is in this environment that the कृत् affix कि is introduced after धा. The string धा-कि is realized as धि. It is a nominal

234

base meaning 'that which holds (something); that is in which (something) is held, a repository'.

What is held is signified by nominal bases that occur as कर्मन् with धा i.e. उदक, जल etc. Technically such grammatical elements as उदक etc. conditioning introduction of कर्तृ affixes are called उपपद and are marked with 7th विभक्ति in structural statements (3192).

The nominal bases उदक etc. continue to hold कर्मन् relation with the कृत् derivative धि, based on the verbal धा. The syntactic constructions उदकम् धीयते etc. are now represented by उदकम् धि: etc.

However, no such usages are attested in the language. Instead, उदक etc. as उपपद are entitled to enter into compound construction with the कृत् derivative धि-. But in a syntactic construction such as उदकम् धि:, the कर्मन् relation holding between a nominal base and कृत् derivative is denoted by the 6th विभक्ति rather then by the 2nd (2365). Thus we have the construction उदकस्य धि:; The उपपद compound formed from this syntactic string in उदधि- (उदक here is replaced by the alternant उद) meaning "a locale where water is held i.e. ocean". Similarly we have जलधि, वारिधि, अम्बुधि in the same meaning; इषुधि, शरधि "holding arrow i.e. quiver"; etc.

We have said above that the affix कि is introduced after धा when it holds कर्मन् relation with a nominal base co-occurring with it in a syntactic construction. This is only a partial statement of conditioning factors that determine introduction of कि after धा.

The affix कि denotes अधिकरण relation. It implies the verbal base धा has to have in construction with it a nominal base that designates अधिकरण relation. The कारक relation in पाणिनि holds between nominal and verbal bases co-occurring in syntactic constructions. The affix कि simply marks अधिकरण relation. It does not designate it. कारकs are always designated in पाणिनि by nominal bases. Thus it is legitimate to ask- What is the nominal base that pairs with धा to designate अधिकरण कारक ?

We do not see any nominal base around that may pair with धा to designate अधिकरण relation. Conceptually, however, we do assume a nominal base to be here that denotes 'a locale' where act of holding (something) takes place. Thus to introduce कि after धा to denote अधिकरण we need to postulate at conceptual level a syntactic construction such as follows.

धीयते अस्मिन्

The pronominal base एतद् here, so to say, officiates for the nominal base that we visualize as 'locale' for the act of holding to take place, happen. This serves here as a variable. However, this variable is no other entity than the derivative धि itself, yet to be made. Thus the nominal and verbal pair which holds अधिकरण relation is धि-धा.

Thus an adequate syntactic construction to derive धि has to indicate that धा is simultaneously in construction with nominal bases that denote कर्मन् as well as अधिकरण relation with it. Such a construction may be postulated as follows.

उदकम् धीयते अस्मिन् ; etc.

236

Such a construction is in conformity with Panini's statement and consistent with semantic contents of the derivative. It is fully accepted by the tradition.

Panini's structural statement in this regard reads as follows.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च घो: किं । (3393)

Here the expressions घो: and किं: are read from the preceding statements. It may be rendered as follows.

> "The suffix किं (=इ) is introduced after the class of verbal bases called घु (1120) holding कर्मन् relation with a nominal base in construction with them to make a derivative designating अधिकरण relation".

We may refer here to similar कृत् derivatives which denote अधिकरण कारक.

In (3476) Panini states that 'the affix क =त is introduced after verbal bases that express the meanings 'static action, movement or eating' to make derivatives that designate अधिकरण कारक.

The derivative यात, made from या 'go' by adding क=त, denotes 'that on which one walks, a passage' in the construction तासाम् यातमर्षयो अनुयन्ति (महा. 1.3.67). 'The sages follow the path they traversed'.

Here the pair holding अधिकरण relation is यात-या. Similarly in रामस्य इदम् भुक्तम् , the derivative भुक्त denotes 'the place where eating etc takes place.

The syntactic constrictions underlying their formation may be postulated as follows.

एति अस्मिन्   इति यातम् ।

भुज्यते अस्मिन्   इति भुक्तम् ।
आस्यते अस्मिन्   इति आसितम् ।   etc.

Below we give illustration examples of कृत् affixes that denote various कारक relations. Respective underlying syntactic constructions for each derivative are given there in the format discussed above. Derivatives are given in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति singular form. Additional semantic nuance expressed by an affix, if any, is also mentioned there. In the brackets we have demonstrated the technique of the process of derivation. Affixes are cited here without any diacritics. Affixes with diacritics are, however, given immediately after it along with reference. At the end the derivatives are given in their stem forms.

कर्तृ

गायति इति गायकः 'a singer' (गै-अक; ण्वुल् 31133 गायक)

अध्यापयति इति अध्यापकः 'a teacher'
       (अधि-ई 'causal' अक; ण्वुल् 31133, अध्यापक)

सञ्जिगमिषति इति सञ्जिगमिषिता 'one who wishes to go together'
       (सञ्जिगमिष-तृ , तृच् 31133, सञ्जिगमिषतृ)

जिज्ञासते इति जिज्ञासुः 'one who wants to know'
       (जिज्ञास-उ, 32168, जिज्ञासु)

विजानाति इति विज्ञाता 'one who knows'
       (विज्ञा-तृ , तृच् 31133, विज्ञातृ)

यायज्यते इति एवं शीलः यायजूकः
       'one who sacrifices habitually constantly'
       (यायज्य-ऊक, ऊक् 32166 यायजूक)

निवसति इति निवासी 'dweller'

(निवस्-इन् , णिनि 31134, निवासिन्)

मन्त्रयते इति मन्त्री 'an adviser'

(मन्त्र-इन् , णिनि 31134, मन्त्रिन्)

पचति इति पच:　　'a cook'

(पच्-अ, अच् , 31134, पच -)

बुध्यते इति बुध:　'a wise man'

(बुध्-अ, क, 31135, बुध -)

जानाति इति ज्ञ:　'knower'

(ज्ञा-अ, क, 31135, ज्ञ -)

पश्यति इति पश्य:　'knower'

(दृश्-अ, श 31137, पश्य -)

ध्ययति इति धय:　'suckling'

(धे-अ, श 31137 धय -)

जीवतात् इति जीवक: 'one for whom we wish he may live'

(जीव्-अक, बुन् 31150 जीवक -)

प्रशाम्यति इति प्रशान् 'calm'

(प्रशम्-, क्विप् 3276, प्रशाम्)

प्रवक्ति इति प्रवचनीय: 'one who recites'

(प्रवच्-अनीय, अनीयर् 3196, प्रवचनीय-)

गायति इति गेय:　'a singer'

(गै-य, यत् 3197, गेय-)

आप्लवते इति आप्लाव्य:

　'one who takes a bath symbolic of one's having
　finished his studies', "a brahmacharin"

(आ-प्लु-य, यत् , 3197, आप्लाव्य-)

उपतिष्ठते इति उपस्थानीय: 'one who serves'

(उपस्था-अनीय, अनीयर् , 3196 उपस्थानीय-)

इष्टवान् इति यज्वा 'one who has performed a sacrifice'

(यज्-वन् , वनिप् 32103 यज्वन्-)

सुत्वान इति सुत्वा   'a who pressed juice'
                        (सु वन् ,   वनिप् 32103, सुत्वन्-)

अजीर्यत् , अजरत् इति जरत्   'aged'
                        (जृ अत् ,   अतृन् 32104, जरन्त्-)

सुषाव सुषुवे इति सुषुवाण: 'one who pressed out juice'
                        (सु आन, कानच् 32106, सुषुवाण)

पपौ इति पपिवान्   'one who drank'
                        (पा वस् , क्वसु 32107, पपिवस्-)

उपससाद, उपासदत् etc. इति उपसेदिवान्
                        'one who sat, approached'
                        (उपसद्-वस् , क्वसु 32108, उपसेदिवस्)

अन्ववोचत् , अनूवाच etc. इति अनूचान:
                        'one well versed in the Vedic lore'
                        (अनुवच्-आन, कानच् 32109, अनूचान-)

करिष्यामि इति कर्तुम् 'so that I may do'
                        (कृ-तुम् , कृमुं 3310, कर्तुम्)

स्नाति इति (तत: गच्छति) स्नात्वा (गच्छति)
                        'one having taken bath'
                        (स्ना-त्वा, क्त्वा 3421, स्नात्वा)

शेते इति शयान: 'one who is laying down'
                        (शी-आन, शानच् 32124, शयान-)

अधीते इति अधीयान: 'one who studies'
                        (अधि-इ-आन, शानच् , 32124 अधीयान-)

अर्जयति इति अर्जयन् 'one who earns'
                        (अर्ज्-अत् , शतृ 32124 अर्जयत्-)

It may be noted that derivatives in शतृ (अत्) and शानच् (आन)
(32126) occur in such constructions as शयाना भुञ्जते यवना: 'the
Yavanas eat while laying down'; अधीयान: वसति माणवक: काश्याम्
"The student lives in काशी for the purpose of studying"; अर्जयन्

गच्छति नगरम् देवदत्त: "Devadatta goes to the town to earn his livelihood" etc. These derivatives either characterize or denote cause or purpose of performance of action denoted by finite form.

Derivatives involving उपपद.

पूर्व: सन् सरति इति पूर्वसर: 'who goes in the front'

<div align="right">(पूर्व: सृ-अ, ट 3219 पूर्वसर-)</div>

उष्ट्र इव क्रोशति इति उष्ट्रक्रोशी

    'one who makes a noise like a camel'

<div align="right">(उष्ट्र: क्रुश्-इन् , णिनि 3279, उष्ट्रक्रोशिन्)</div>

अनाढय: आढय: भवति इति आढयम् भविष्णु:

     'one who was not rich formerly now becomes rich'

<div align="right">(आढय: भू-इष्णु ,खिष्णुच् 3257, आढयम् भविष्णु)</div>

अनारूय: आरूय: भवति इति आरूयम्भावुक:

    'In the same meaning as the above, well-known'

<div align="right">(आरूय: भू-उक , खुकञ् 3257, आरूयम्भावुक-)</div>

द्विरद: इव गच्छति इति द्विरदगामी

     'one who walks like an elephant'

<div align="right">(द्विरद: गम्-इन् , णिनि 3279, द्विरदगामिन्-)</div>

कुम्भम् करोति इति कुम्भकार: 'one who makes pots, potter'

<div align="right">(कुम्भम् कृ-अ, अण् 321, कुम्भकार-)</div>

कवचम् हरति इति वयसि वर्तमान: कवचहर:

     'one old enough to wear a coat-of-mail'

<div align="right">(कवचम् ह-अ, अच् 3210, कवचहर-)</div>

शोकम् करोति इति एव हेतुका शोककरी (कन्या) '(a girl) who is characteristically cause of worry (for the parents)'

<div align="right">(शोकम् कृ-अ, ट 3220, शोककर-ई (ङीष्)</div>

शत्रुम् वध्यात् इति शत्रुह:

        'one whom we wish to destroy the enemies'

          (शत्रुम् हन्-अ, ऽ 3249, शत्रुह-)

जायाम् हन्ति एवम् लक्षणवान् इति जायाघ्न: (पुरुष:) 'one destined to kill his wife as indicated by some marks on one's body'

          (जायाम् हन्-अ, टक् 3252, जायाघ्न-)

उष्णम् भुङ्क्ते इति एवम् शील: उष्णभोजी

        'one accustomed to eating hot'

          (उष्णम् भुज्-इन् , णिनि 3278, उष्णभोजिन्-)

पण्डितम् आत्मानम् मन्यते इति पण्डितम्मन्य:

        'one who regards himself a wise person'

          (पण्डितम् मन्-अ, खश् 3283, पण्डितम्मन्य-)

शास्त्रम् दृष्टवान् इति शास्त्रदृष्ट्वा   'one who has seen the शास्त्र '

          (शास्त्रम् दृश्-वन् , क्वनिप् 3294, शास्त्रदृष्वन्)

गाम् दास्यामि इति (याति) गोदाय:

        'I shall give a cow (thus goes one)'

          (गाम् दा-अ, अण् 3312, गोदा-)

मन्त्रेण स्पृशति इति मन्त्रस्पृक् 'one who touches with a Mantra'

          (मन्त्रेण स्पृश्-०, क्विन् 3258, मन्त्रस्पृश्-)

अग्निष्टोमेन इष्टवान् इति अग्निष्टोमयाजी

        'one who has performed the अग्निष्टोम sacrifice'

        (अग्निष्टोमेन यज-इन् , णिनि 3285, अग्निष्टोमयाजिन्)

मित्राय द्रुह्यति इति मित्रध्रुक्   'one who hurts a friend'

          (मित्राय द्रुह्-०, क्विप् 3261, मित्रद्रुह्-)

उखाया: स्रंसते इति उखास्रत्   'one falling from a pot'

          (उखाया: स्रंस्-०, क्विप् 3275, उखास्रद्)

संस्कारात् जात: इति संस्कारज: 'born of prenatal habit'

242

(संस्कारात् जन्-अ, ड 3298, संस्कारज-)

ऋतौ यजते इति ऋत्विक्　　　'one who performs sacrifice at proper time: a class of priests'

(ऋतौ यज्-०, क्विन् 3259, ऋत्विज्)

स्थण्डिले शेते इति व्रतम् अस्य स्थण्डिलशायी　'one who has taken a vow to sleep on bare ground'

(स्थण्डिले शी-इन् , णिनि 3280, स्थण्डिलशायिन्)

कुरुषु चरति इति कुरुचर:　'one who moves in the Kuruland'

(कुरुषु चर्-अ, ट 3216, कुरुचर-)

प्रातर् एति इति प्रातरित्वा　　　'one going out early'

(प्रातर् इ-वन् , क्वनिप् 3275, प्रातरित्वन्)

आदाय चरति इति आदायचर:　　'one who moves about after receiving (something)'

(आदाय चर्-अ, ट 3217, आदायचर-)

कर्मन्

धयन्ति एताम् इति धात्री　　　　'a wet nurse'

(धे-त्र, ष्ट्रन् 32181, धात्र-ङीष्)

सृजन्ति एताम् इति स्रक्　　　　'a garland'

(सृज्-०, क्विप् 3259, स्रज्)

प्रास्यन्ति तम् इति प्रास:　　　'a spear'

(प्रास्-अ, घञ् 3319, प्रास-)

व्रियते इति वर:　　　　'self chosen bridegroom'

(वृ-अ, अप् 3358, वर-)

विस्तीर्यते इति विस्तर:　　　'a seat'

(विस्तृ-अ, अप् 3358, विस्तर-)

अधीयते इति अध्याय:　　　　'a study unit, chapter'

(अधि इ-अ, घञ् 3321, अध्याय-)

प्रोच्यते इति प्रवचन: 'Veda'
                (प्रवच्-अन, ल्युट् 33115, प्रवचन)
अवसिच्यते इति अवसेचनम्   'water'
                (अवसिच्-अन, ल्युट् 33115, अवसेचन-)
प्रोच्यते इति प्रवचनीयम्   'Veda'
            (प्रवच्-अनीय, अनीयर् 3468, प्रवचनीय-)

करण

दान्ति अनेन इति दात्रम्   'a sickle'
                (दा-त्र, ष्ट्रन् 32182, दात्र-)
शस्ति अनेन इति शस्त्रम्   'a weapon'
                (शस्-त्र, ष्ट्रन् 32182, शस्त्र-)
लुनाति अनेन इति लवित्रम्   'a sickle'
                (लू-इत्र, इत्र 32184, लवित्र-)
खनति अनेन इति खनित्रम्   'a spade'
                (खन्-इत्र, इत्र 32184, खनित्र-)
चरति अनेन इति चरित्रम्   'a foot'
                (चर-इत्र, इत्र 32184, चरित्र-)
एति अनया इति इत्या   'a palanquin'
                (इ-य, क्यप् 3399, इत्य-टाप्)
रसयति अनया इति रसना 'tongue, that with which one tastes'
                (रस-अन, युच् 33107, रसन-टाप्)
जयति अनेन इति जय: 'winning, that with which one wins'
                (जि-अ, अच् 3356, जय)
स्नाति अनेन इति स्नानीयम्   'that with which one bathes'
                (स्ना-अनीय, अनीयर् 33113, स्नानीय-)
क्रीडति अनेन इति क्रीडनीयम्   'a toy'
                (क्रीड्-अनीय, अनीयर् 23113, क्रीडनीय-)

244

क्रुध्यति अनेन इति क्रोधनीयम् 'that which provokes anger'

(क्रुध्-अनीय, अनीयर् 33113, क्रोधनीय-)

पतति अनेन इति पतनीयम्   'that which causes fall, sin'

(पत्-अनीय, अनीयर् 33113, पतनीय-)

आचामति अनेन इति आचमनम्   'water'

(आचम्-अन् , ल्युट् 33117, आचमन-)

आशित: भवति अनेन इति आशितम्भव:

'that which makes one satiated'

(आशित: भू-अ, खच् 3245, आशितम्भव-)

अनाढयम् अनेन आढयम् कुर्वन्ति इति आढयंकरण: (मन्त्र:)

'(a mantra) by means of which they make rich one who was not rich formerly'

(आढयम् कृ-अन, ख्युन् 3256, आढयंकरण-)

अस्थूलम् स्थूलम् अनेन कुर्वन्ति इति स्थूलम्करणम् 'that by which they make him fat who was not fat earlier'

(स्थूलम् कृ-अन, ख्युन् 3256, स्थूलंकरण-)

सम्प्रदान

दीयते अस्मै इति दानीय: (ब्राह्मण:) 'to whom something is given'

(दा-अनीय, अनीयर् 33113, दानीय-)

दाशन्ते अस्मै इति दाश:

'one to whom something is given'

(दाश्-अ, अच् 3473, दाश निपातन)

अपादान

प्रपतति अस्मात् इति प्रपात: 'precipice'

(प्रपत्-अ, घञ् 3319, प्रपात-)

245

प्रपतति अस्मात् इति प्रपतनम् 'precipice'

(प्रपत्-अन, ल्युट् 33115, प्रपतन-)

प्रस्कन्दति अस्मात् इति प्रस्कन्दनम् 'jumping ground'

(प्रस्कन्द्-अन, ल्युट् 33115, प्रस्कन्दन-)

प्रस्रवति अस्मात् इति प्रस्रवणम् 'a fountain'

(प्रस्रु-अन, ल्युट् 33115, प्रस्रवण-)

उद्विजते अस्मात् इति उद्वेजनीयम्

'one from whom one gets disgusted'

(उद्विज्-अनीय, अनीयर् 3196, उद्वेजनीय-)

उपेत्य अधीयते अस्मात् इति उपाध्याय: 'a teacher'

(उप-अधि इ-अ, घञ् 3321, उपाध्याय-)

अधिकरण

शेते अस्याम् इति शय्या 'a bed'

(शी-य, क्यप् 3399, शय्य-टाप्)

शेते अस्मिन् इति शयनीयम् 'a bed'

(शी-अनीय, अनीयर् 3196, शयनीय-)

रमते अस्याम् इति रमणीया 'a well'

(रम्-अनीय, अनीयर् 3196, रमणीय-टाप्)

क्षियन्ति अस्मिन् इति क्षय: 'a dwelling'

(क्षि-अ, अच् 3356, क्षय-)

बध्यते अत्र इति बन्धनम् 'a prison'

(बन्ध्-अन, ल्युट् 33115, बन्धन-)

परिसरन्ति अत्र इति परिसर: 'border area'

(परिसृ-अ, च 33118, परिसर-)

आस्यते अस्मिन् इति आसितम् 'a place where one has sat'

(आस्-त, क 3476, आसित)

शय्यते यत्र शयितम् 'the place where one has slept'

246

(शी-त, क 3476, शयित-)

यायते अस्मिन् इति यातम्   'where one has gone, path'

(या-त, क 3476, यात-)

जलम् धीयते अस्मिन् इति जलधि:   'ocean'

(जलधा-इ, कि 3393, जलधि)

अम्बु धीयते अस्मिन् इति अम्बुधि:   'ocean'

(अम्बुधा-इ, कि 3393, अम्बुधि)

गाव: चरन्ति अस्मिन् इति गोचर: 'pasture'

(गाव: चर्-अ, घ 33119, गोचर-)

पाणय: ध्मायन्ते एषु इति पाणिन्ध्मा (पन्थान:) '(paths so dark that) hands are clapped to indicate going on them)

(पाणय: ध्मा-अ, खश् 3237, पाणिन्धय-)

तद्धित

As we scan through Panini's description of तद्धित formation we come to recognize that तद्धित affixes denote diverse sorts of semantic nuances. Panini, however, does not speak of syntactic relations, कारक and non-कारक that may hold between nominal bases and affixes. To understand that we may have to examine how तद्धित formations are made.

Panini declares at the very outset that तद्धित affixes are introduced optionally after such nominal inflected forms (पद) occurring in syntactic constructions which correspond in form and structure to the first of the nominal forms in a structural statement connected syntactically and semantically with other forms (4182). For instance, there is a statement in Panini which reads तेन क्रीतम् (5137). The statement interpreted in accordance with the directions given in (4182) as explained above, allows us to make syntactic

247

constructions after its structural pattern by replacing तेन, a 3rd विभक्ति form from the pronominal base तद् employed here as simple variable by a 3rd विभक्ति form from any nominal base compatible semantically with क्रीतम् .

Panini lists nominal bases in (5119-36) that are compatible semantically with क्रीतम् and are, thus, eligible to form syntactic constructions after its pattern, e.g. निष्केण क्रीतम् (5120); शतेन क्रीतम् (5121); पञ्चभि: क्रीतम् (5122); कंसेन क्रीतम् (5125); वसनेन क्रीतम् (5126), अध्यर्द्धमाषेण क्रीतम् (5134) etc-etc.

Now instead of such phrases तद्धित derivatives may be made by introducing appropriate affixes after nominal forms ending in the 3rd विभक्ति here. Panini indicates in these statements what affix goes with what nominal base. The affix यत् , for instance, is introduced after शत (5121). Thus adding यत् after शतेन, the string शतेन-यत् is produced. It is subjected to appropriate grammatical operations and is realized finally as शत्य. The derivative is used optionally and expresses precisely the same meanings as the corresponding phrase does.

It may be noted that Panini's description of formation of तद्धित derivatives, as illustrated above, does not talk of the nature of syntactic relationship between nominal base शत and क्री or शत and यत् beyond that the nominal base in the phrase is equipped with the 3rd विभक्ति. The only exceptions are the formations described in (5442, 45-47 and 50-52) where तद्धित affixes are introduced after nominal bases ending in विभक्ति affixes expressing particular कारक relations.

248

However, we know from Panini (2318) that the 3rd विभक्ति with शत expresses करण relations which holds between शत and क्री (1442).

The तद्धित affix यत् expressing the same meaning as क्रीतम् does in the phrase is assumed to reflect करण relation also which is expressed by 3rd विभक्ति in the phrase.

Thus to glean information with regard to what कारक relations are denoted by what affixes in तद्धित derivatives we have to scrutinize carefully syntactic phrases corresponding to respective तद्धित formations in the light of Panini's statements under कारके (1423) describing co-occurring nominal and verbal base pairs holding particular कारक relation and the statements under अनभिहिते (231) to find out what विभक्ति expresses a particular कारक relation.

Below we describe what derivative affixes express what कारक relations.

कर्तृ

There are quite a few affixes that denote कर्तृ. A few examples are as follows.

अण्

निरुक्तम् अधीते इति नैरुक्तः   (निरुक्तम्-अ, अण् 4259, नैरुक्त-)
        'one who studies निरुक्त'
छन्दो वेत्ति इति छान्दसः   (छन्दस्-अ, अण् 4259, छान्दस-)
        'one who knows छन्दस्'

मथुराम् गच्छति इति माथुरः (पन्थाः) (मथुराम्-अ, अण् 4385, माथुर-)

'the road, that goes to Mathura'

स्रुघ्नम् अभिनिष्क्रामति इति स्रौघ्नम् (द्वारम्)

(स्रुघ्नम्-अ, अण् 4386, स्रौघ्न-)

'a gate that leads to Srughna'

इनि

अनुब्राह्मणम् अधीते/वेद इति अनुब्राह्मणी (अनुब्राह्मणम्-इन, इनि   4262, अनुब्राह्मणिन्-)

'one who studies or knows the treatise which is like ब्राह्मण'

इनि~ठक्

श्राद्धम् अनेन भुक्तम् इति श्राद्धी~श्राद्धिक:

'one who has eaten food that is offered to ancestors'

श्राद्धम्-इन्/इक् , इनि/ठक् ५२८५ण श्राद्धिन/श्राद्धिकाच

कन्

सिन्धौ जात: इति सिन्धुकः   (सिन्धौ-क, कन् 4332, सिन्धुक-)

'one who born in Sindhu country'

ख

आढकम् पचति इति आढकीना (स्थाली)

(आढकम्-इन् , ख 5153 आढकीन-)

'a pot that cooks one measure of आढक

छ

आयुधेन जीवति इति आयुधीय: (आयुधेन-ईय, छ 4414, आयुधीय-)

'a mercenary, a soldier working on hire'

ठक्

अक्षै: दीव्यति इति आक्षिक: (अक्षै-इक, ठक् 442, आक्षिक-)
'one who plays with dice'

ठन्

नावा तरति इति नाविक: (नावा-इक, ठन् 447, नाविक-)
'one who crosses by boat'

ढञ्

कोशे सम्भूतम् इति कौशेयम्   (कोशे-एय् , ढञ् 4342, कौशेय-)
'silken cloth'

मयट्

देवदत्तात् आगतम् इति देवदत्तमयम्

(देवदत्तात्-मय, मयट् 4381, देवदत्तमय-)
'what has come from Devadatta'

रूप्य

देवदत्तात् आगतम् इति देवदत्तरूप्यम्

(देवदत्तात्-रूप्य, रूप्यम् 4382, देवदत्तरूप्य-)
'what has come from Devadatta'

छन्

भस्त्रया हरति इति भस्त्रिक: (भस्त्रया-इक, छन् 4416, भस्त्रिक-)
'one carrying with a leather bag

कर्मन्

अण्

वसिष्ठेन दृष्टम् इति वासिष्ठम् (साम) (वसिष्ठेन-अ, अण् 427, वासिष्ठ-)
'seen by वसिष्ठ'

251

वररुचिना कृता: इति वाररुचा: (श्लोका:)

   (वररुचिना-अ,   अण् 43116, वाररुच)

   '(verses) composed by वररुचि

इनि

चूर्णेन संसृष्ट: इति चूर्णिन: (अपूप:) (चूर्णेन-इन, इनि 4423, चूर्णिन-)

   'sprayed with powder (cakes)'

छ

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् इति पाणिनीयम्

   (पाणिनिना-ईय, छ43101 cf 42114, पाणिनीय-)

   'that which is promulgated by Panini'

ठक्

अक्षै: जितम् इति आक्षिकम् (धनम्) (अक्षै:-इक, ठक् 442, आक्षिक-)

   'won by gambling (wealth)'

व्यवहारे नियुक्त: इति व्यावहारिक:

   (व्यहारे-इक, ठक् 4469, व्यावहारिक-)

'appointed to deal with administration i.e. ministers
etc.'

ठन्

अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् इति आह्निकम्   (अह्ना-इक, ठन् 5179, आह्निक-)

   'what is accomplished in a day'

ड्च

वामदेवेन दृष्टम् इति वामदेव्यम् (साम)

   (वामदेवेन-य, ड्च 429, वामदेव्य-)

   'seem by Vamadeva (a saman)'

252

ढञ्

क्षीरे संस्कृता इति क्षैरेयी (यवागूः) (क्षीरे-एय, ढञ् 4220, क्षैरेय-ङीष्)

'cooked in milk (gruel)'

यत्

हस्तेन दीयते/कार्यम् इति हस्त्यम्(हस्तेन-य, यत् 5198, हस्त्य-)

'what is to be given or done by hand'

वुन्

कुलालेन कृतम् इति कौलालकम्

(कुलालेन-अक, वुन् 43118, कौलालक-)

'That which is made by a potter'

करण

तद्धित affixes denoting करण are uncommon. We have noticed the following instances.

यत्

रक्षसाम् हननी इति रक्षस्या   (रक्षसाम्-य, यत् 44121, रक्षस्य-टाप्)

'that with which demons are killed'

(हननी is derived by adding अन(ल्युट्) to हन् in the sense of 'that with which they kill' हन्यते अनया इति हननी.)

सम्प्रदान

Affixes denoting सम्प्रदान relation are also scarce. Few examples are.

अण्

भक्तम् अस्मै दीयते (नियुक्तम्) इति भाक्त:

(भक्तम्-अ, अण, 4468, भाक्त-)

'one to whom food is served regularly'.

टिठन्

श्राणा अस्मै दीयते (नियुक्तम्) इति श्राणिक:

(श्राणा-इक् , टिठन् 4467, श्राणिक-)

'one to whom rice gruel is served regularly'.

ठक्

अपूपा: अस्मै दीयन्ते (नियुक्तम्) इति आपूपिक:

(अपूपा:-इक, ठक् 4466, आपूपिक:)

'one to whom cakes are given regularly'.

अपादान

Affixes denoting अपादान relation are infrequent. Following perhaps are the only examples noticed by us.

तसि

The तद्धित affix तसि=तस् comes optionally after nominal bases ending in the 5th विभक्ति denoting अपादान relation except bases that are in construction with verbal bases हा 'abandon' and रुह् 'grow' (5445), e.g.

ग्रामात् (आगच्छति) इति ग्रामत: (ग्रामात्-तस् , तसि 5445, ग्रामतस्)

'He comes from the village'.

सर्पात् (बिभेति) इति सर्पत: (बिभेति)

(सर्पात्-तस् , तसि 5445, सर्पतस्)

'He fears a snake'

अस्मात् (त्रायस्व) इति अत: (त्रायस्व)

(अस्मात्-तस् , तसि 5445, अतस्)

'Protect me from this'.

It may be noted that the affix तसिल् replaces optionally तसि denoting अपादान occurring after किम् , सर्वनाम class of nominal bases and बहु excluding the sub-class headed by द्वि (538).

The affixes तसिल् and तसि both realized as तस् differ in placement of pitch. Initial syllable of तसि carries उदात्त pitch (313). On the other hand, in case of तसिल् , the उदात्त pitch occurs on the syllable preceding it (61190). A few more examples are

ततः ~ ततः जायते	'Born from that'
सर्वतः ~ सर्वतः पतन्ति	'Fall from all sides'
बहुतः ~ बहुतः निर्गच्छन्ति	'Go forth from many sides'

तसिल्

The affix तसिल्=तस् comes optionally after किम् , सर्वनाम and बहु excluding the sub-group headed by द्वि ending in the 5th विभक्ति (537).

The affix तसिल् may express अपादान कारक as mentioned above in environments where 5th विभक्ति does. Examples illustrating use of तसिल् in general including अपादान relation.

कुतः आयातः भवान् ,	'Where are you coming from?'
ततः जायन्ते प्राणिनः ,	'Creatures are born from that'.
यतः अवरोहन्ति पथिकाः ,	'From which ascend the travelers'.
अमुतः हीयते पन्थाः ,	'The traveler stays away from that'.
अमुतः आहर पुष्पाणि ,	'Bring flowers from that'.

अधिकरण

The following few affixes denote अधिकरण.

खञ्

मुद्गानाम् भवनम् इति मौद्गीनम् (क्षेत्रम्)

(मुद्गानाम्-ईन् , खञ् 521, मौद्गीन-)

'(a field) in which beans grow plentifully'.

ढक्

व्रीहीणाम् भवनम् इति व्रैहेयम् (क्षेत्रम्) (व्रीहीणाम्-एय, ढक् 522, व्रैहेय-)

'(a field) where rice grow in plenty'.

यत्

यवानाम् भवनम् इति यव्यम् (क्षेत्रम्)   (यवानाम्-य, यत् 523, यव्य-)

'where barley grows plentifully (a field)'

त्रल्

The affix त्रल्=त्र occurs optionally after nominal bases किम् , सर्वनाम and बहु excluding the sub-class headed by द्वि ending in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति in general. The affix denotes the same meanings as the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति does (5310).

It is in appropriate contexts that it denotes अधिकरण कारक. A few examples are.

कुत्र (कस्मिन् स्थाने) निवससि त्वम् ।   'Where do you live?'

अहम् तत्र निवसामि यत्र निवसति देवदत्त: ।

ईश्वर: सर्वत्र विद्यते ।

बहुत्र (बहुषु प्रदेशेषु) निदाघे जलम् अपि न प्राप्यते ।

A few more unproductive affixes and readymade forms are described in (5311-22) after bases ending in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति. Some of these denote time. However, all of these may denote अधिकरण relation in suitable contexts.

256

Examples.

> इह (अस्मिन् लोके) सर्वे सुखम् प्रार्थयन्ते ।
>
> क्व (कस्मिन् स्थाने) गत: स जाल्म: ।
>
> अहम् सदा (सर्वेषु कालेषु) ईश्वरम् भजामि ।
>
> एकदा (एकस्मिन् काले) वयम् काश्मीरेषु गता: ।
>
> इदानीम् (अस्मिन् काले) भवन्त: विश्राम्यन्तु ।
>
> स सद्य: (तत्कालम्) प्रातिष्ठत् ।

Affixes denoting two or more कारक relations

The following affixes denote two or more कारक relations.

अस्ताति = अस्तात्

The affix अस्ताति comes after bases denoting दिक् 'direction' ending in the 7th, 5th or 1st विभक्ति expressing meanings of 'direction', 'locality' or 'time'. The derivative affix is assumed to express the same meanings as do these inflectional affixes (5327).

In (5328-41) Panini describes alternates of अस्ताति. Domain of each alternant is not completely exclusive either in terms of bases or विभक्ति affixes occurring after them. There is often overlapping. Some of the alternates may denote additional semantic nuances also.

Here is a brief account of distribution of these alternates and कारक relations expressed respectively by them.

The affix अतसुच्=अतस् occurs after दक्षिण and उत्तर and optionally with पर and अवर all ending in the 7th, 5th and 1st विभक्तिs (5328-29). There is लुक् elision of अस्ताति with bases formed from the verbal base अञ्च् i.e. प्राची and प्रतीची (5330). The affix आति=आत् occurs with उत्तर, अधर and दक्षिण (5334). The

affix एनप्=एन occurs optionally with उत्तर, अधर and दक्षिण followed by विभक्तिs other than 5th and expressing the sense 'not far off'(5335). The affix आच्=आ occurs with दक्षिण followed by विभक्तिs other than 5th (5336). The affixes आच् and आहि occur with दक्षिण and उत्तर followed by विभक्तिs other than the 5th denoting the meaning 'far off' (5337-38). The affix असि=अस् occurs with पूर्व, अधर and अवर (5339). The readymade forms उपरि, उपरिष्टात् , पश्चात् , पश्च and पश्चा read here are assumed to express all the meanings denoted by अतसुच् (5331-33).

To give an idea of overlapping in the domain of alternates it may, for instance, be pointed out that the base दक्षिण and उत्तर in विभक्ति environments as noted above, admit five affixes each viz. अतसुच् , आति, एनप् , आच् and आहि. Derivatives thus formed are- दक्षिणतस् , दक्षिणात् , दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणा and दक्षिणाहि: उत्तरतस् , उत्तरात् , उत्तरेण, उत्तरा and उत्तराहि respectively.

The तद्धित affix अतसुच् and its variants express in appropriate contexts the कारक relations of अधिकरण, अपादान, कर्मन् and कर्तृ as expressed by the various inflectional affixes after which these are introduced. A few illustrative examples are given below.

अधिकरण

कूप: ग्रामस्य पुरस्तात् (पूर्वस्याम् दिशि/पूर्वस्मिन् देशे) वर्तते ।
आश्रमस्य दक्षिणत: राक्षसा: प्रचरन्ति ।
वटस्य अधस्तात् क्षणम् विश्राम्यताम् ।
वृक्षस्य उपरि खगशावका: कूजन्ति ।
सरोवरस्य प्रतीक् मुनिजना: सन्ध्याम् उपासते ।

नदे: दक्षिणाहि अस्माकम् आवासा: ।

नगरात् उत्तरा नदी वहति ।

विलसति पुर: नीरस-तरु: ।

अपादान

गृहस्य उत्तरत: को अपि शृगाल: आगत: ।

भूमे: अधस्तात् वर्षासु कीटा: निर्गच्छन्ति ।

लताया: उपरिष्टात् पत्राणि पुष्पाणि च प्रपतन्ति ।

नगरस्य प्राक् सार्थवाह: आगत: ।

भूमे: अध: निर्गच्छन्ति अङ्कुरा: ।

पर्वतात् उत्तरात् प्रासा: इमे आरण्यका: ।

अवरत: प्रासादस्य अवतरति कन्याजन: ।

The derivatives assumed to be ending in the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति may denote कर्तृ or कर्मन् depending on the type of constructions these occur in.

(a)   कर्तृ

प्रासादस्य पुरस्तात् अतीवविस्तीर्णम् रमणीयम् च ।

पर्वतस्य उपरि शाद्वलम् हरितम् च अस्ति ।

गुरुकुलस्य अवस्तात् उच्चावचम् अस्ति ।

(b)   कर्मन्

परस्ताद् (=परवृत्तान्त:) अवगम्यते एव ।

अरण्यस्य अवरत: अन्वेषणीयम् ।

"The western region of the forest is to be searched".

सागरात् उत्तराहि प्राप्तम् वानरै: ।

"The monkey reached the northern region of the ocean".

259

शस्

The affix शस् comes optionally after nominal bases synonymous with बहु "many" and अल्प "few", ending in any वि भक्ति denoting some कारक relation (with verbal bases in construction with them.) (5442).

Since Panini does not specify what particular कारक is denoted by शस् , it is assumed that any of the six कारकs is meant here. However, कर्तृ may not find any representation. Thus it is excepted.

Examples are

बहुश: ददाति	It may be interpreted to mean.
बहूनि ददाति	(कर्मन्)
बहुभि: ददाति	(करण)
बहुभ्य: ददाति	(सम्प्रदान or अपादान)
बहुषु ददाति	(अधिकरण)

Similarly अल्पश: ददाति is interpreted to express distinctions of various कारक. The synonymous forms भूरि and स्तोक may also be used in such constructions.

In मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्या पार्थ सर्वश: (गी. 4.11) if the pronominal base सर्व is accepted as synonym of बहु , the affix शस् after it may be interpreted to denote अधिकरण meaning सर्वासु अवस्थासु or करण meaning सर्व-प्रकारै:.

260

त्रा

The affix त्रा comes variously after nominal bases देव, मनुष्य, पुरु ष, पुरु and मर्त्य ending in 2ⁿᵈ or 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति (5456).

It is presumed that त्रा denotes the same meaning as do these विभक्तिs. In suitable contexts, thus, it may denote कर्मन् or अधिक रण.

> देवत्रा गच्छति may mean देवान् गच्छति ।
> देवत्रा वसति may mean देवेषु वसति ।

Here it expresses कर्मन् and अधिकरण relations respectively.

कारक representation in nominal compounds

Consider the string of expressions underlined in the following utterance.

> भ्राष्ट्रे पक्वा अपूपाः मह्यम् रोचन्ते ।
> "Cakes cooked in a frying-pan appeal to me".

Both भ्राष्ट्रे and पक्वाः are nominal inflected forms (respectively from nominal bases भ्राष्ट्र and पक्व). There is semantic compatibility between the two and are related syntactically. Together these constitute a phrase which qualifies अपूपाः.

The syntactic relationship is expressed by the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति with भ्राष्ट्र. The विभक्ति affix with पक्व- does not play any role in establishing this relationship. Even if the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति is replaced by any other विभक्ति in this or in any other similar construction, the relationship is not vitiated.

Alternately, we find that, the expression भ्राष्ट्र-पक्वा: may be employed. Here the 7th विभक्ति with भ्राष्ट्र- is lacking. Nonetheless the syntactic relationship is preserved. Such constructions are called compounds, समास.

The corner stone of nominal compounds, we may claim, are nominal inflected forms, पदs, compatible semantically and related syntactically, समर्थ. (समर्थ: सुप् सुपा सह समास: - 211-4). In fact in his theory of language Panini does recognize such strings as compounds. He lays down a grammatical procedure to arrive at compound bases from such syntactic constructions.

Syntactic relationships, कारक or non-कारक, are denoted by nominal inflectional affixes as described by Panini under अन भिहिते (231).

It may be pointed out that nominal bases to which affixes denoting syntactic relationships are attached, constitute prior members in the finalized forms of compound bases.

If nominal compounds were treated as constructions unrelated to syntactic phrase used alternately, we would be left guessing all the time about what syntactic relations hold between their constituents. With syntactic information available from alternate phrases the question of identification of syntactic relationships becomes so easy. For instance, in the compound form भ्राष्ट्र-पक्व, the relationship between भ्राष्ट्र and पक्व is indicated indisputably very visibly in the phrase भ्राष्टे पक्व- by the 7th विभक्ति. The pair भ्राष्ट्र-पक्व refers to भ्राष्ट्र-पच् which holds अधिकरण relation (1445) which is expressed by the 7th विभक्ति (2336). In the compound the same relationship is expressed by the compound structure.

Thus in a study concerned with finding out what कारक relations are represented by compound structures we shall be referring to respective syntactic phrases, linguistic alternates to compound forms.

In our presentation below we shall cite the phrase first and then the compound form that corresponds to it. References in Panini are given along with in parentheses. Any intermediary explication, if involved, may be found there in parentheses in continuation of the phrase.

In Panini कारक relations are assumed to hold between nominal and verbal bases co-occurring in syntactic constructions. In nominal compounds verbal bases that are assumed to co-occur with nominal bases, it may be pointed out, occur as component of कृत् derivatives, technically regarded as प्रातिपदिक, nominal stems.

कर्तृ

अहिना हत: इति अहिहत: (2131)

वृकेण हत: इति वृकहत: (2131)

स्वयम् (आत्मना) धौतौ इति स्वयम्धौतौ (पादौ) (2125)

काकै: पेया इति काकपेया (नदी) (2132)

शुना लेह्य: इति श्वलेह्य: (कूप:) (2132)

(अश्रेणय:) श्रेणय: भूता: इति श्रेणिभूता: (2159)

कर्मन्

ग्रामम् प्राप्त: इति ग्रामप्राप्त: (2124)

जीविकाम् आपन्न: इति जीविकापन्न: (2124)

शरणम् पतित: इति शरणपतित: (2124)

(अश्रेणय:) श्रेणय: कृता: इति श्रेणिकृता: (2159)

उद्दालकपुष्पाणाम् भञ्जिका इति उद्दालपुष्पभञ्जिका (क्रीडा) (2217)

263

नखानाम् लेखक: इति नखलेखक: (2217)

करण

नखैर् निर्भिन्न: इति नखनिर्भिन्न: (2132)
दात्रेण लूनम् इति दात्रलूनम् (2132)
धनुर्भि: खाता इति धनुष्खाता (नदी) (2132)
वृकैः अवलुप्तम् इति वृकावलुप्तम् (2132)
शशौ: प्लुतम् इति शशप्लुतम् (2132)
हस्तिना मृदिता इति हस्तिमृदिता (भूमि:) (2132)
बाष्पै: छेद्यानि इति बाष्पछेद्यानि (तृणानि) (2133)
कण्टकै: सञ्चेय: इति कण्टकसञ्चेय: (ओदन:) (2133)
स्तोकात् मुक्त: इति स्तोकान्मुक्त: (2139) (for अलुक् see further)
अन्तिकात् आगत: इति अन्तिकादागत: (2139)
(The 5th विभक्ति here denotes करण relation (2333))

अपादान

चौरात् भयम् इति चौरभयम् (2137)
वृकात् भयम् इति वृकभयम् (2137)
स्वर्गात् पतित: इति स्वर्गपतित: (2138)
दु:खात् मुक्त: इति दु:खमुक्त: (2138)
सुखात् अपेत: इति सुखापेत: (2138)

अधिकरण

ग्रामे सिद्ध: इति ग्रामसिद्ध: (2140)
आतपे शुष्क: इति आतपशुष्क: (2140)
स्थाल्याम् पक्व: इति स्थालीपक्व: (2140)
यूपे बन्ध: इति यूपबन्ध: (2140)
मासे देयम् इति मासदेयम् (ऋणम्) (2143)
संवत्सरे देयम् इति संवत्सरदेयम् (ऋणम्) (2143)
पूर्वाह्णे कृतम् इति पूर्वाह्णकृतम् (2144)

मध्यरात्रे कृतम् इति मध्यरात्रकृतम् (2144)

पूर्वाह्णे गेयम् इति पूर्वाह्णगेयम् (2144)

तत्र पीतम् इति तत्रपीतम् (2145)

तत्र अधीतम् इति तत्राधीतम् (2145)

भस्मनि हुतम् इति भस्मनिहुतम् (2146) (for अलुक् see further)

पात्रे समिता: इति पात्रेसमिता: (2147)

Representation in उपपद compounds

A greater variety of representation of कारक relations is exhibited in compounds called उपपद, effected between linguistic expressions other than inflected verbal forms (अतिङ्) and कृत् derivatives made from verbal bases with which these expressions co-occur (2219). We may give a few illustrative examples of representation of various कारक in उपप द compounds.

कर्तृ

पूर्व: सन् सरति इति पूर्वसर: (पूर्व: सृ-ट, 3219)

(अनाढ्च:) आढ्च: भवति इति आढ्चम्भविष्णु: (आढ्च: भू-खिष्णुच् , 3257)

काक: इव वदति इति काकवादी (काक: वद्-णिनि, 3279)

बाल: इव रोदिति इति बालरोदम् (रोदिति) (बाल: रुद् णमुल् , 3445)

जीव: नश्यति इति जीवनाशम् (नश्यति) (जीव: नश्-णमुल् , 3443)

ऊर्ध्व: (एव तिष्ठन्) शुष्यति इति ऊर्ध्वशोषम् (शुष्यति)

       (ऊर्ध्व: शुष्-णमुल् , 3444)

अजक इव नष्ट: इति अजकनाशम् (नश्यति)

       (अजक: नश्-णमुल् , 3445)

कर्मन्

वेदम् अधीते इति वेदाध्याय: (वेदम् अधि इ-अण्
, 321)

एधान् आहरिष्यामि (इति याति) इति एधाहार: (एधान्-ह्-अण् , 3312)

सुराम् आहरिष्यति (इति प्रेषयामि) इति सुराहारी

                    (सुराम्-आ-ह्-अण् , 3312)

कम्बलम् ददाति इति कम्बलद: (कम्बलम् दा-क, 323)

क्रव्यम् अत्ति इति क्रव्याद्   (क्रव्यम् अद्-विट् , 3269)

पण्डितम् मन्यते (आत्मानम्) इति पण्डितम्मन्य:

                    (पण्डितम् मन्-खश् , 3283)

(यम् यम्) धनिकम् पश्यति (तम् तम् अर्थयते) इति धनिकदर्शम्(अर्थयते)

                    (धनिकम् दृश्-णमुल् , 3429)

अधिकरण

खे शेते इति खशय: (खे-शी-अच् , 3215)

मद्रेषु चरति इति मद्रचर: (मद्रेषु चर्-ट, 3216)

दिवि सीदति इति द्युसद्   (दिवि सद्-क्विप् , 3261)

पाणौ उपकृष्य इति पाण्युपकर्षम् (धाना: सङ्गृह्णाति)

                  (पाणौ उपकृष्-णमुल् , 3449)

नद्याम् स्नाति इति नदीष्ण: (नद्याम् स्ना-क, 324)

गृहे तिष्ठति इति गृहस्थ: (गृहे-स्था-क, 324)

करण

पादै: पिबति इति पादप: (पादै: पा-क, 324)

अग्निष्टोमेन यजते इति अग्निष्टोमयाजी

             (अग्निष्टोमेन यज्-णिनि, 3285)

पादेन हन्ति इति पादघातम्   (पादेन हन्-णमुल् , 3437)

धनेन पुष्णाति इति धनपोषम् (पुष्णाति)

             (धनेन पुष्-णमुल् , 3440)

मूलकेन उपदंश्य (भुङ्क्ते) इति मूल्कोपदंशम् (भुङ्क्ते)

(मूलकेन उपदंश्-णमुल् , 3447)

सम्प्रदान

मित्राय द्रुह्यति इति मित्रध्रुक्   (मित्राय द्रुह्-क्विप् , 3261)

अपादान

आतपात् त्रायते इति आतपत्रम्   (आतपात् त्रा-क, 323)
वर्षात् त्रायते इति वर्षत्रम्   (वर्षात् त्रा-क, 323)
वाहात् भ्रंशते इति वाहभ्रट्   (वाहात् भ्रंश-क्विप् , 3276)
"falling from a cart".
पर्णात् ध्वंसते इति पर्णध्वृत्   (पर्णात् ध्वंस्-क्विप् , 3276)
विरहात् जात: इति विरहज: (सन्ताप:) (विरहात् जन्-ड, 3298)
शय्याया: उत्थाय (धावति) इति शय्योत्थायम् (धावति)

(शय्याया: उद्-स्था-णमुल् , 3452)

अधिकरण

केशेषु गृहीत्वा (युध्यन्ते) इति केशग्राहम् (युध्यन्ते)

(केशेषु ग्रह-णमुल् , 3450)
पार्श्वे उपपीड्य (शेते) इति पार्श्वोपपीड्यम् (शेते)

(पार्श्वे उपपीड्-णमुल् , 3449)

अलुक्

In general nominal विभक्ति with prior members in compounds, denoting various types of syntactic relations are dropped by लुक् (2471). In certain compounds, however these are retained. Nominal विभक्तिs denoting following कारक relations are retained in compounds as described below.

करण

i.   The 5th विभक्ति denoting करण कारक in case of स्तोक "a little" and कृच्छ्र "difficulty" expressing the sense of non-substantive (2333) is retained in a compound effected with the expression ending in क (632). The compound is formed under (2139). Thus स्तोकात् मुक्त: इति स्तोकान्मुक्त: "barely released"; कृच्छ्रात् मुक्त: इति कृच्छ्रान्मुक्त: "released with difficulty".

ii.   The 3rd विभक्ति denoting करण with ओजस् "strength", सहस् "courage", अम्भस् "water" and तमस् "darkness" compounded with forms ending in क (2132) is retained (633). Thus ओजसा कृतम् इति ओजसाकृतम् "performed with strength", सहसा कृतम् इति सहसाकृतम् "done with force"; अम्भसा कृतम् इति अम्भसाकृतम् "done with water" and तमसा आवृतम् इति तमसावृतम् "covered with darkness".

iii.   The 3rd विभक्ति with मनस् denoting करण compounded with the expression आज्ञायिन् (2219) is retained (634). Thus मनसा आज्ञायी इति मनसाज्ञायी "one able to know mentally".

अपादान

The 5th विभक्ति with अन्तिक 'near' and दूर 'far' and their synonyms denoting अपादान compounded with a form ending in क (2139) is retained (632). Thus दूराद् आगत: इति दूरादागत: "come from afar", अभ्याशाद् प्राप्त: इति अभ्याशात्प्राप्त: "came from near" etc.

अधिकरण

i.   In a तत्पुरुष compound the 7th विभक्ति compounded with a form ending in कृत् is retained variously (6313). The 7th विभक्ति in the following compounds denotes अधिकरण.

<div align="center">

स्तम्बे रमते इति स्तम्बेरमः   (स्तम्बे रम्-अच् , 3213)

"enjoying in a thick of grass, an elephant"

कर्णे जपति इति कर्णेजपः   (कर्णे जप्-अच् , 3213)

"one who whispers in the ear, a slanderer"

</div>

ii.   The 7th विभक्ति occurring with प्रावृष् 'rainy season', शरत् 'autumn', काल 'time' and दिव् 'sky' compounded with ज 'born' is retained obligatorily and optionally with वर्ष 'rainy season', क्षर 'cloud', शर 'red' and वर 'enclosure' (6315-16).

<div align="center">

प्रावृषि जायते इति प्रावृषिजः   (प्रावृषि जन्-ड, 3297)

शरदि जायते इति शरदिजः   (शरदि जन्-ड, 3297)

काले जायते इति कालेजः   (काले जन्-ड, 3297)

दिवि जायते इति दिविजः   (दिवि जन्-ड, 3297)

</div>

Also where it is retained optionally.

<div align="center">

वर्षे जायते इति वर्षेजः~वर्षजः   (वर्षे जन्-ड, 3297)

क्षरे जायते इति क्षरेजः~क्षरजः   (क्षरे जन्-ड, 3297)

etc.

</div>

iii.   The 7th विभक्ति with nominal stems not denoting 'time' compounded with शय 'one who sleeps', वास 'dwelling' and वासिन् 'one who dwells, resides' is retained optionally (6317)

<div align="center">

खे शेते इति खेशयः~खशयः   (खे शी-अच् , 3215)

</div>

269

ग्रामे वसति इति ग्रामेवास:~ग्रामवास: (ग्रामे वस्-घञ् , 3318)

ग्रामे वसति इति ग्रामेवासी~ग्रामवासी (ग्रामे वस्-णिनि, 3278)

Representation in बहुव्रीहि

There is yet another type of nominal compound formally constituted of two or more nominal bases. Such a compound differs from all other types in as such as the sense it denotes is altogether distinct from what is signified by individual constituents or all constituents taken together. To interpret it a reference has to be made necessarily to an entity denoted by a nominal base standing outside the compound.

In one variety of it there is a nominal base made from verbal bases related syntactically with a nominal base outside the compound.

Consider the compound उपहतपशु. Formally it is made of the stems उपहत and पशु. Any meaningful syntactic relationship between these could be established only by relating the constituent उपहत to an expression standing outside the compound.

The equivalent syntactic unit corresponding to उपहत-पशु is postulated as उपहत: पशु: यस्मै स उपहतपशु: meaning "that to whom an animal has been offered as sacrifice". The compound is used as a qualifying epithet for some deity e.g. रुद्र , दुर्गा etc.

As far as the syntactic relationship between constituents is concerned it is that of apposition (समानाधिकरण). In other words both the constituents stand at par. This relationship is denoted by 1st विभक्ति with both of them in the corresponding syntactic construction.

270

However to let the compound be a meaningful linguistic unit, a syntactic relationship, here that of सम्प्रदान कारक, is necessary to be recognized between कृत् derivative उपहृत and the unit outside the compound. It is denoted in the corresponding syntactic construction by the expression यस्मै, 4th विभक्ति singular from the nominal base यद् employed as variable.

In this variety of बहुव्रीहि any talk of representation of syntactic relationship makes sense only with regard to relationship with the constituent ending in क and the nominal base standing outside the compound rather than between constituents of the compound themselves.

It may, thus, be claimed that such a compound form as उपहृतप शु displays the कारक relation of सम्प्रदान that obtains between उ पहृत and a nominal base like रुद्र etc. that stands outside the compound. Likewise the compound प्राप्तोदक {प्राप्तम् उदकम् यम् (ग्रामम्)} '(the village) that has received water' displays the कारक relation of कर्मन् ; ऊढरथः (ऊढः रथः येन अनडुहा) '(the ox) that has drawn the chariot' that of कर्तृ ; उद्धृतौदना (उद्धृतः ओदनः यस्याः स्थाल्या :) '(a pot) from which rice has been emptied' that of अपादान. And so on.

271

ॐ**Chapter 8**

The 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति and representation of syntactic relations

The use of the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति in syntactic constructions is described in two contexts in the 3ʳᵈ section of the 2ⁿᵈ chapter. The statements (2326-27, 30. 34-35, 38-41) interspersed in statements describing use of other विभक्तिs denote various relations expressed by it. On the other hand, the statements (2350-73) constitute a block describing exclusively relationships denoted by it.

In the first group of statements relationships indicated by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति obtain between syntactic units called प्रातिपदिक including अव्ययs and their sub-varieties. Either one of the constituents in co-occurring pairs, called उपपद by पाणिनि's commentators, governs the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति (cf. 2326-27) or the relationships are based on semantic considerations (cf. 238-41), e.g. उपरि वृक्षस्यः, दक्षिणतो गृहस्यः, समीपम् कूपस्य, अन्नस्य हेतोः द्वारि तिष्ठति भिक्षुकः, कस्य हेतोः अत्र भ्राम्यसि ? बहूनाम् गवाम् स्वामी अहम् , मातुः रुदत्याः प्रव्रजीत् पुत्रः, कुशलः कटकरणस्य भवान् , मनुष्याणाम् शूरतमः क्षत्रियः, etc. Relationships illustrated here are those of non-कारक type.

Syntactic relationships denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति in the second group of statements are designated as शेष (2350).

The term शेष, it may be pointed out, is not used as a technical term in the अष्टाध्यायी. It conveys the sense of other than that described above, earlier. Thus it stands for different things in different contexts. In the present context it implies relations other than those described in the preceding

272

statements (232-47). This includes relations denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति itself referred to above.

The term शेष, thus, refers to syntactic relations that exclude कारक as well as non-कारक ones described in the foregoing statements. By itself it remains equivocal and indeterminate, since it does not imply syntactic relations of any specific type. To understand what miscellaneous sorts of relations are subsumed under it we have to look into these statements more closely.

These statements are headed by षष्ठी शेषे (2350). The expression षष्ठी is relevant in all the following statements. However, reading of शेषे in the following statements does not seem to make much sense as discussed below.

(a)   The statement (2362) states that in the domain of छन्दस् the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति variously occurs in the sense of the 4ᵗʰ विभक्ति.

(b)   The group of statements (2365-71) describes that the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति coming after nominal stems formed from verb stems by adding कृत् affixes in general and क=त in specific meanings, represents कर्तृ or कर्मन् relation. Exceptions and counter exceptions to these are also noted here.

Reading of शेषे here does not make any sense since syntactic relations denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति are stated in explicit terms.

(c)   The statements (2372-73) describe that 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति occurs optionally, alternating with 3ʳᵈ or 4ᵗʰ विभक्ति, with nominal stems that are in construction with

273

specific items listed therein. The question of reading शेषे in this context finds no structural relevance.

We are now left with the statements (2350-61, 63-64). We shall scrutinize these below to see if the expression शेषे is read in all of them or only in some of these. We shall also determine what relation does it denote wherever it is found relevant to induct it.

Take the initial statement (2350) which reads as षष्ठी शेषे.

It is a generalized statement. It simply asserts that the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति occurs in the meanings other than those described above. It does not spell out these. We know that relationships described in the preceding statements are those of कारक and non-कारक. Do we understand that the statement under discussion is intended to take care of कारक or non-कारक or both types of relations that remain to be described (शेष)?

Since syntactic relations purposed to be described in the statements following immediately after it i.e. (2351 etc.) occur between nominal and verb stems, it is reasonable to assume that the relations described by the statement under discussion are such as obtain between pairs of nominal stems.

Now consider relations between co-occurring pairs of nominal stems in the following phrases.

राज्ञः पुरुषः	जलस्य शैत्यम्
पशोः पादः	भीमस्य शौर्यम्
पितुः पुत्रः	सुवर्णस्य कङ्कणम्
कूपस्य जलम्	अश्वस्य घासः
नदेः तीरम्	मित्रस्य लाभः
सूर्यस्य प्रकाशः	मम मनः

274

स्वर्गस्य विघ्न: and so on.

The statement under discussion does not throw any light on the nature of relationships denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति as illustrated in the above examples. Panini's commentators, however, by way of illustration, point out that the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति expresses relationships of 'possessed' and 'possessor' (स्व-स्वामि भाव) as between पुरुष and राजन् in राज्ञः पुरुषः ; of 'part' and 'whole' (अवयवावयविभाव) as between शाखा and वृक्ष in वृक्षस्य शाखा; of 'progeny' and 'progenitor' (जन्य-जनक भाव) as between पुत्र and पितृ in पितुः पुत्रः; of 'material' and 'thing made thereof' (प्रकृति-विकृति भाव) as between कुण्डल and सुवर्ण in सुवर्णस्य कुण्डलम् ; etc. etc.

Features marking such relationships are numerous. Considerations on which these relationships are based are heterogeneous. There is, thus, no unitary feature that could be found to run through all of these. Realizing heterogeneity of relationships denoted by the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति, Panini does not make any attempt to search for any one characterizing feature for these. Rather he intentionally postpones to describe these relations at the end when he had described relationships denoted by all other विभक्तिs. To describe this odd lot of relationships now he can simply say that the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति expresses all relations other than those denoted by other विभक्तिs. And to say this he employs the expression शेष, remainder, residual.

The महाभाष्य commenting on (2350) correctly observes that शेष stands for meanings other that those of कर्मन् etc. (शेष इत्युच्यते, कः शेषो नाम? कर्मादिभ्यो ये अन्ये अर्थाः सः शेषः). In another context, however, पतञ्जलि redefines शेष as कर्मादीनाम् अविवक्षा शेषः

275

Next we may consider statements (2351-61; 63-64) which are characterized as constituting a distinct group by virtue of containing expressions denoting designations of one कारक or the other in the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति. The expression करणे is read in (2351 and 63), कर्मणि in (2352-61) and अधिकरणे in (2364).

These statements describe syntactic relations between such verb stems as ज्ञा, अधि-इक् and its synonyms, रुज् , नाथ् etc. enumerated therein and appropriate nominal stems co-occurring with them. Nature of syntactic relationships depends on whether the expression षष्ठी alone or both षष्ठी and शेषे are inducted in a statement from (2350).

There are no indications in Panini as to which expression or expressions are to be carried over in a particular statement. One has to rely on tradition. The महाभाष्य comments only on a few statements. Information available from it is scanty. The काशिका and the सिद्धान्त कौमुदी comment on all the statements.

The काशिका reads only षष्ठी in (2351) while the सिद्धान्त कौमुदी reads here षष्ठी शेषे. We are inclined to agree with the latter. Elsewhere both show agreement in reading षष्ठी or षष्ठी शेषे.

Total information put together in this regard is as follows.

> षष्ठी alone is read in (2358-59; 61 and 63) and
> षष्ठी and शेषे in (2351-57 and 64).

It may be noted that in (2360) neither षष्ठी nor षष्ठी शेषे is read. It forms exception to (2358).

There is no problem of interpretation of the role of the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति where the expression षष्ठी alone is read in a statement. It expresses obligatorily, optionally or variously the कारक relation as mentioned in a statement. Thus we have.

276

शतस्य दीव्यति (2358);   शतस्य/शतम् प्रति दीव्यति(2359);
अग्नये छागस्य ... प्रेष्य , etc. (2361) and
घृतस्य/घृतेन यजते (2363).

We may now take up consideration of constructions where both षष्ठी and शेषे are read besides an expression designating some कारक relation. What relation does the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति denote in such statements?

Consider the statement अधीगर्थदयेशाम् कर्मणि (2352). Here according to the tradition, as pointed out above, both षष्ठी and शेषे are read from (2350). The statement thus completed reads as follows.

अधीगर्थदयेशाम् कर्मणि षष्ठी शेषे ।

To interpret it the expression शेषे is construed with कर्मणि and is understood to qualify it.

पतञ्जलि interprets शेषे as अविवक्षिते. Thus the phrase शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी भवति is paraphrased by him as अविवक्षिते कर्मणि षष्ठी भवति "The 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति occurs (with co-occurring nominal stems) when कर्मन् is not desired to be expressed".

He further observes that अविवक्षा of कर्मन् etc. is शेष (कर्मादीनाम् अविवक्षा शेष:) i.e. 'lack of desire (on the part of the speaker) is शेष'.

On the other hand, if कर्मन् etc. are desired to be expressed the 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति is not introduced. Appropriate विभक्तिs as provided under (231) are introduced. For कर्मन् , for instance it is 2ⁿᵈ विभक्ति that occurs (232). Thus we have:

स्मराम्यहम् मातरम् , स्मराम्यहम् पितरम् , (यदा कर्म विवक्षितम् भवति तदा षष्ठी न भवति । तद् यथा- स्मराम्यहम् मातरम् स्मराम्यहम् पितरम् इति । महाभाष्य)

277

Thus according to पतञ्जलि's interpretation of the statement (2352), two constructions, involving the same set of co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs, e.g. मातृ-स्मृ , are produced, namely मातरम् स्मरामि and मातुः स्मरामि. One is obtained by introducing 2nd विभक्ति after मातृ when कर्मन् कारक is desired to be expressed (232) and the other by introducing the 6th विभक्ति when it is not desired to be expressed(2350).

Again under the same conditions pairs of constructions are produced from identical pairs; e.g. घृतेन जानीते and घृतस्य जानीते from घृत्-विद् holding करण कारक (2351); द्विर् अद्धि भुङ्क्ते and द्विर् अह्नो भुङ्क्ते from अहन्-भुज् holding अधिकरण कारक (2364). (However see our comments on 2364).

To sum

पतञ्जलि assumes that nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems mentioned explicitly or implied in these statements, denote distinctions of कर्मन् , करण and अधिकरण कारकs as specified here and admit respectively nominal विभक्तिs as mentioned under (231).

If there is no desire on the part of the speaker to express these कारक distinctions, he may instead introduce the 6th विभक्ति after these nominal stems and thus express another syntactic relation called शेष in Panini

Neither does Panini nor पतञ्जलि tell us anything regarding syntactic nature of शेष beyond that it is realization (filling up) of structural vacuum created by non-expression of कर्मन् etc. (कर्मादीनाम् अविवक्षा शेषः).

278

Critique of the महाभाष्य

There is a small number of verb stems, listed exhaustively in these statements, that participate in such pairs of constructions. The syntactic relationship expressed by the 6th विभक्ति, thus, illustrates a peculiarity of usage involving only this set of verbs. It does not allude to a common phenomenon. No such usage as शिशुः दुग्धस्य पिबति is attested in the language.

कात्यायन's observation in this context is particularly significant. Somehow it is often missed.

He points out that the verb stem स्मृ occurs as transitive, सकर्मक , in मातरम् स्मरति and intransitive-like, अकर्मकवत् , in मातुः स्मरति. This structural behavior of स्मृ is reflected in the transforms- म ाता स्मर्यते (मातरः स्मर्यन्ते), a regular कर्मन् type of construction and मातुः स्मर्यते (मातृणाम् स्मर्यते), a (sort of psuedo) भाव construction. It leads naturally one to recognize two distinct syntactic relationships vis-à-vis stems like मातृ etc. which may be called कर्मन् etc and शेष.

It may, thus, be claimed that Panini describes in these statements a <u>unique</u> syntactic relationship expressed by the 6th विभक्ति, obtaining between nominal stems co-occurring with this small set of verb stems specified here. It is independent of कारक relations that happen to be displayed by these pairs.

The महाभाष्य, thus, misreads Panini when it proposes to explicate this relationship simply as an alternate relationship realized in the absence of the speaker's desire to express कारक relationships. It cannot be regarded as a

279

relationship that fills structural vacuum created by non-expression of कारक relations (कर्मादीनाम् अविवक्षा शेष:).

Postulation of the concept of विवक्षा to account for this relation appears to be an ad hoc strategy for पतञ्जलि. There is no evidence in Panini to show that he works with this notion. Any alternate usage is described by him in terms of विभाषा, वा , अन्यतरस्याम् etc. as found appropriate.

The woes of misunderstanding Panini by पतञ्जलि stem from construing शेषे with कर्मणि, etc and treating it as an epithet qualifying them. This leads him to interpret शेष as अविवक्षित.

However we assume that by reading कर्मन् etc and शेष, in the 7th विभक्ति Panini refers to two distinct syntactic relationships, viz. कर्मन् etc and शेष. We shall explain this fully below.

The काशिका and सिद्धान्त कौमुदी

The काशिका and सिद्धान्त कौमुदी simply reecho the interpretation of the महाभाष्य.

Commenting on (2352), for instance, the काशिका observes that 'the 6th विभक्ति occurs when कर्मन् कारक of these verb stems is intended to be expressed as शेष' (एतेषाम् कर्मणि कारके शेषत्वेन विवक्षि ते षष्ठी विभक्तिर् भवति).

It implies that कर्मन् relation which मातृ holds with स्मृ in मातरम् स्म रति, for instance, is being expressed as शेष in मातु: स्मरति. Does it mean that in both the linguistic environments the कारक relation between मातृ and स्मृ remains invariant? If not, how do कर्मन् as such and कर्मन् expressed as शेष differ? The काशिका

mystifies the issue by its silence. The tradition, thus, fails to enlighten us what Panini intends to say in these statements.

Reappraisal

To interpret these statements we have to have access to linguistic facts that underlie their formation. Comparable data to what Panini made use of may be retrieved from linguistic elements contained in the statements and supplemented with examples handed down in tradition.

Consider the following constructions.

सर्पिष: जानीते यज्ञमान: ।

मधुन: जानीते वैद्य: ।

राघवस्य अध्येति जानकी ।

सुहृद: स्मरन्ति जना: प्रवासे ।

स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः । (भाष्य)

सर्पिष: दयते गृही ।

स्वर्गस्य ईष्टे ।

कुटुम्बिनौ धनस्य ईशाते (आपस्तम्ब. 2.29.3)

'Relatives have rights over (his) wealth'.

एध: दकस्य उपस्कुरुते ।

चौरस्य रुजति रोग: ।

वृषलस्य आमयति आमय: ।

मधुन: नाथते रुग्ण: ।

चौरस्य उज्जासयति राजपुरुष: ।

दुष्टस्य निप्रहन्ति प्रहरी ।

वृषलस्य निघ्नन्ति ग्रामीणा: ।

शत्रो: प्रहन्ति योध: ।

दस्यूनाम् उज्ज्ञाटयति नृप: ।

आततायिनाम् क्राथयति वीर: ।

281

दुष्टानाम् क्राथयति राजा ।

सहस्रस्य व्यवहरति वणिक् ।

शतस्य पणते देवदत्तः ।

दिवसस्य द्विः भुङ्क्ते ब्रह्मचारी ।

अह्नः पञ्च कृत्वः स्नाति ब्राह्मणी ।

मासस्य द्विः अधीते वेदम् ब्रह्मचारी ।

द्विर् अह्नः स्नानम् अश्वानाम् गन्धमाल्यं च दापयेत् (कौ. 2.3.50)

Here are illustrated pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems marked off as a group by the 6th विभक्ति occurring with nominal stems. These are सपिष्-ज्ञाः राघव-अधि-इः सुहृद्-स्मृः चौर-रुज़्ः मधु-नाथ्ः दिवस्-भुज़् , etc. These are related syntactically. The 6th विभक्ति with nominal stems may indicate sameness of relationship.

What is the nature of relationship?

The pairs do not qualify to hold कारक relation in the environments in which these occur. The relationship, thus, may be regarded any other then that of कारक. In Panini it is designated as शेष. Panini does not spell out what it really means.

It is obvious that in search of such pairs Panini must have ransacked a real large sample of linguistic discourses. He seems to conclude finally that these are probably all the verb stems as reported above, that participate in such constructions. Nominal stems on the other hand, could be as many as found compatible semantically with co-occurring verb stems. Thus Panini comes to have on his hands a heap of such pairs, though verb stems occurring there are <u>countable</u>.

282

Nominal and verb stems do not happen to constitute co-occurring pairs randomly. There is freedom and constraints on their co-occurrence. One has to search for bases to see what nominal stems go with what verb stems. Panini, thus, looks for features of any sort shared by two or more verb stems, for instance, on the one hand, and similar features shared by corresponding co-occurring nominal stems on the other. Such pairs may be organized into various sets reflecting freedom of co-occurrence of members in a set.

How does Panini proceed with this task?

He seems to examine nominal stems first. He finds that nominal stems among themselves form an odd lot, a crowd of unrelated items. However, when viewed vis-à-vis verb stems co-occurring with them, these are found to hold कारक relations of करण, कर्मन् and अधिकरण with respective verb groups as follows.

Nominal stems co-occurring with ज्ञा denote करण; those with अधि-इ , स्मृ , दय् , ईश् , कृ , रुज् , आमय , नाथ् , जस् , निप्रहन् , नाट् , क्राथ् , पिष् , व्यवह and पण् denote कर्मन् and those denoting 'time' and in construction with nominal stems ending in the affix expressing the meanings of कृत्वसुच् hold अधिकरण relation with such verb stems as भुज् , ह्रा etc. compatible semantically with them. Thus on the basis of their holding करण, कर्मन् and अधिकरण कारक relations these pairs fall into three distinct groups.

Next he needs to organize these three broad groups further into sub-groups to reflect freedom of co-occurrence for members in a group.

This is how he seems to proceed.

283

He goes over pairs in each group to find out what nominal stem goes with what verb stem.

As he surveys group of pairs that hold करण relation, he notices that there is only one lone verb stem namely ज्ञा that constitutes this group. That makes his task easy. All that he has to say is that it is nominal stems holding करण relation with ज्ञा that take 6th विभक्ति to express शेष relation with it (ज्ञा).

A structural statement to describe it has to incorporate in it the information regarding identification of co-occurring nominal and verb stems, designation of syntactic relationship and mention of linguistic element expressing this relationship.

The verb stem is identified by its explicit mention. It is ज्ञा. However, all its meanings are not pertinent here. The meaning 'knowing' expressed by it has to be excluded. Thus ज्ञा is qualified by the epithet अविदर्थ-, a compound form meaning 'excluding the sense of knowing'.

Nominal stems are identified in terms of their structural capability of holding करण relation with the verb stem ज्ञा (cf 1442).

Syntactic relationship between nominal stem and ज्ञा is that of शेष.

And 6th विभक्ति is the linguistic element that expresses this relationship.

Incorporating this information the structural statement is formulated as follows.

ज्ञो अविदर्थस्य करणे । (2351).

284

To avail of the reading of the expressions षष्ठी and शेषे into it, the statement is placed under (2350).

Now reading षष्ठी and शेषे into it, the full statement reads as follows.

ज्ञो अविदर्थस्य करणे, षष्ठी शेषे ।

It may be rendered as follows.

"The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems that hold करण relation with the verb stem ज्ञा excluding the meaning 'knowing', denotes शेष relation (with ज्ञा)".

It may be pertinent to point out here that all statements in this section describing शेष relation contain similar information and are thus formulated after the same pattern.

To avail of reading over the expression षष्ठी and शेषे these are placed immediately after (2350).

Next Panini deals with pairs that holds कर्मन् relation. Verb stems are classified largely in terms of semantic features. Stems denoting sense of रुजा 'injury' except the verb stem ज्वरि (causal), form one group; stems जासि (causal), निप्रहन् , नाट् (causal), क्राथ् (causal) and पिष् all denoting 'violence' constitute another; व्यवह and पण् when denoting identical meanings are put together and the stems expressing the sense of अधि-इ form a distinct group. On the other hand verb stems कृ in the meanings of 'change the existing quality'; नाथ् 'bless for' constitute respective groups of single stems. The verb stem दय् and ईश् , in whatever meanings these occur, remain isolated items. However, in the interest of economy of statement Panini includes these in the group comprising synonyms of अधि-इ.

Thus in all <u>six</u> groups are formed. There have to be, thus, six statements. We describe these below the way these are formed and interpreted. However, we do not go into the question what consideration Panini has in arranging these in the present order.

Panini uses the compound expression अधीगर्थ to denote अधि-इ and its synonyms. The unattached items दय् and ईश् are compounded with it. The form अधीगर्थदयेश्- describes this group.

The structural statement formed by Panini to describe शेष relation by nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems in this group, reads as follows.

अधीगर्थदयेशाम् कर्मणि । (2352)

Reading षष्ठी and शेषे in it from preceding statements it may be rendered as follows.

> "The 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति after nominal stems holding कर्मन् relation with verb stems synonymous with अधि-इ; दय् 'give, allot' and ईश् 'rule', denote शेष relation (with them)".

Next he picks up the lone verb stem कृ meaning 'change the existing quality'. Formulation of structural statement is simple enough. It reads as follows.

कृञ: प्रतियत्ने (2353)

The expression कर्मणि and षष्ठी and शेषे are read into it from the preceding statements. It may be rendered as follows.

286

> "The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems holding कर्मन्
> relation with कृ meaning 'change the existing
> quality', denotes शेष relation (with it)".

Next he takes up the group consisting of stems denoting the
meaning of रुजा, 'affliction' excluding the verb stem ज्वरि
(causative).

Linguistic usage shows that nominal stems denoting action (भा
व), derived from these stems, are found to function
invariably as कर्तृ of these verb stems in syntactic
constructions as exemplified in illustrative constructions given
above. Panini uses an unusual expression भाववचन in the sense
'which have action nouns as their कर्तृ '- an epithet qualifying
रुजार्थ- 'stems having the sense of रुजा, 'affliction'.

The statement formulated by Panini reads as follows.

रुजार्थानाम् भाववचनानाम् अज्वरे । (2354)

Reading कर्मणि and षष्ठी and शेषे from preceding statements, it
may be rendered as follows.

> "The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems that hold कर्मन्
> relation with verb stems denoting 'affliction'
> excluding ज्वरि (causative) whose कर्तृ is a nominal
> stem denoting action (भाव) derived from these verb
> stems, denotes शेष relation (with them)".

Next Panini deals with the verb stems नाथृ 'bless, desire'
constituting a group by itself. He uses the expression आशिष्
to denote its meanings.

Formulation of structural statement is easy enough. It reads
as follows:

287

आशिषि नाथः । (2355).

The expression कर्मणि and षष्ठी and शेषे are read into it. It may be rendered as follows.

> "The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems co-occurring with नाथ् meaning 'bless, desire' holding कर्मन् relation, denotes शेष relation (with it)".

Next the group of verb stems comprising जासि (causal); निप्रहन् , नाट् (causal), क्राथ (causal) and पिष् -all denoting violence, हिंसा. The structural statement is formulated as follows.

जासि-निप्रहण-नाट-क्राथ-पिषाम् हिंसायाम् । (2356).

The expressions कर्मणि and षष्ठी शेषे are read here.

It may be interpreted as follows.

> "The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems that hold कर्मन् relation with verb stems जासि (causal); निप्रहन् , नाट (causal), क्राथ (causal) and पिष्- all denoting the sense of 'in fury', denotes शेष relation (with them)".

The verb stem व्यवह and पण् when denoting identical meanings are grouped together.

These stems denote various meanings respectively. However nominal stems co-occurring with these denote शेष relation only when these express identical meanings. Panini does not spell out what these are. He uses the expression समर्थ 'having the same meanings' to qualify the compound expression व्यवह-पण् . The commentators, however, tell us that the common meanings are 'to engage in business or gamble'.

288

His structural statement describing शेष relation by nominal stems co-occurring with them reads as follows.

व्यवहृपणो: समर्थयो: । (2357)

Reading कर्मणि and षष्ठी and शेषे with it, it may be interpreted as follows.

> "The 6th विभक्ति after nominal stems that hold कर्मन् relation with the verb stems व्यवह and पण् when these express identical meanings (i.e. engage in business, gamble), denotes शेष relation (with them)".

Now Panini proceeds to organize pairs holding अधिकरण कारक relation in order to formulate the structural statement describing that 6th विभक्ति after these nominal stems denotes शेष relation.

As he surveys these pairs, he finds that verb stems भुज्, स्ना, पठ् etc are a heterogeneous lot not capable of being strung together in a group. Rather it may be said that these belong to a group simply by virtue of co-occurring with nominal stems holding अधिकरण कारक relation with them. Verb stems thus constitute an open end group compatible semantically with nominal stems co-occurring with them. Panini has thus not to describe them. Rather he has to identify nominal stems a little more rigorously.

This is how he proceeds to do it.

In the first instance he notices that all nominal stems here denote 'time' काल. This, however, is too broad a feature. It allows all sorts of items viz. दिवस, रात्रि, मास, संवत्सर, अद्य , हयस् , सद्यः , सपदि, झटिति etc. to be included in this list. All of these are, however, not found attested in such constructions. He

scrutinizes these constructions a little more carefully. He finds that only such nominal stems participate here that are capable of denoting 'frequency' of action denoted by co-occurring verb stems.

He comes to notice that there is always an item denoting 'frequency' of action in construction with expressions denoting 'time'. Such items are made from nominal stems denoting numerals, संख्या, by adding the affix कृत्वस्=कृत्वसुच् (5417 etc), e.g. पञ्चकृत्वस् 'five times'. Panini uses the compound expression कृत्वोर्थ- 'expression denoting the meanings of कृत्वस्'. This expression is further compounded with the item प्रयोग 'construction' to give the form कृत्वोर्थ-प्रयोग. It goes with the expression काल 'stems denoting time' in his structural statement.

In the formulation of structural statement Panini does not have to make any explicit mention of group of verb stems since any verb stem compatible semantically with nominal stems is just in order. Thus his statement reads as follows.

कृत्वोर्थप्रयोगे काले अधिकरणे । (2364).

The expression षष्ठी and शेषे are read from (2350). It may now be rendered as follows.

> "Nominal stems denoting time holding अधिकरण relation (with verb stems compatible semantically with them), take 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति to denote शेष relation (with the verb stems) when co-occurring with stems ending in affixes having the sense of कृत्वस् (5417 etc.)".

In our interpretation here we have assumed that अधिकरण relation with co-occurring verb stems is denoted by nominal stems denoting काल; while शेष relation is denoted by them

when these are in construction with expression like पञ्च कृत्वस् etc. denoted by कृत्वोर्थ-प्रयोगे.   However nominal and verb stems co-occurring with them are the same in both cases.

To recapitulate

Structural statements discussed above describe pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems. These fall into three groups. Nominal stems in respective group denote distinct कारक relations of करण, कर्मन् and अधिकरण.   Nominal विभक्ति as provided under (231) express these relations. There is no dispute about it.

However, we have argued above that the 6th विभक्ति with nominal stems in all these pairs denotes exclusively just <u>one</u> relationship called शेष.

We are not sure how शेष and कारक relations denoted by these pairs differ. The महाभाष्य maintains that the 6th विभक्ति is introduced when particular कारक relation is not desired to be expressed. The काशिका and the सिद्धान्त कौमुदी observe that the 6th विभक्ति here describes particular कारक relation as शेष (शेषत्वेन) .

Structurally and semantically these explanations appear to be perfectly barren and opaque.

We maintain further that the tens शेष is purposely used by Panini to cover relations which are too numerous and multifarious to be described systematically and successfully. Diversity and variety of relations between nominal stems illustrated by us under (2350) is just obvious.

Similarly शेष relations realized in the contexts of different structural sets of nominal and verb stems denoting करण, कर्मन् and अधिकरण could not just be one type. Rather शेष reflects here as many varieties of relationships as there are sets of environments in which it is realized. This issue is completely overlooked in the tradition.

We may also refer to पतञ्जलि's discussion of (1367) which describes that causal verb stems take आत्मनेपद affixes if nominal stems denoting कर्मन् in corresponding non-causal constructions function as कर्तृ in causal constructions. One notable exception is the verb stem आध्यान meaning 'remember longingly'.

In this context पतञ्जलि cites the examples स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिल: (non-causal) and स्मरयत्येनम् वनगुल्म: स्वयमेव (causal).

पतञ्जलि cites these examples in the faith that the nominal stem वनगुल्म followed by the 6th विभक्ति in non-causal construction designates कर्मन् . In corresponding causal construction it is found to function as कर्तृ (where being represented by verb inflection it takes first विभक्ति).

It may be pointed out that for 6th विभक्ति co-occurring with verb stem स्मृ to denote कर्मन् goes counter to what he says in his comments on (2352). (यदा च कम विवक्षितम् भवति, तदा षष्ठी न भवति).

These examples of पतञ्जलि are cited in other commentaries in the tradition.

The काशिका cites these in its exposition of the same statement, namely (1367). It does not see any wrong here. For it the 6th विभक्ति seems to denote कर्मन् .

292

However, पदमञ्जरी in its comments points out that वनगुल्म is not कर्मन् here since it is desired to be expressed as शेष (cf. 2352). Therefore here the reading should be वनगुल्मम् . (…न त वत्र वनगुल्मस्य कर्मत्वम अस्ति, शेषत्वेन विवक्षितत्वात् । तस्माद् वनगुल्मम् इति प्रदर्शनी यम् .)

The न्यास also makes similar observations. However, it offers an alternate explanation wherein it mitigates its criticism. It says that this (वनगुल्म) is desired to be expressed as शेष. But even then its कर्मत्व is there in fact for its being remembered. (अथवा यद्यपि तच्छेषत्वेन विवक्षितम् , तथापि स्मर्यमाणत्वात् तस्य कर्मत्वम वस्तुत: अस त्येवेति).

The सिद्धान्त कौमुदी, on the other hand, cites the correct example, namely स्मरति वनगुल्मम् कोकिल: without entering into argument with पतञ्जलि.

In referring to this discussion here our point is simply to show that even in tradition, कर्मन् and कर्मन् desired to be expressed as शेष are recognized as two distinct syntactic relationships and in syntactic operations one cannot be substituted in place of the other.

To sum

The 6ᵗʰ विभक्ति denotes the following relations.

(a.)   It denotes various types of syntactic relations based on semantic considerations between pairs of co-occurring nominal stems as illustrated in our discussion of (2350). These are subsumed under शेष.

(b.)   It describes शेष relation, again of various hues, between nominal stems and verb stems co-occurring

293

with them. Verb stems are mentioned exhaustively in (2351-57, 64).

Co-occurring nominal and verb stem pairs are identical with those that hold करण, कर्मन् and अधिकरण relations. कारक designations in these statements are to identify co-occurring verb stems as <u>the same</u> that hold these relations respectively as described under कारके (1423).

(c.)   It denotes कर्मन् relation obligatorily or optionally with verb stems mentioned in (2358-59, 61) and करण variously with यज् in the domain of छन्दस् (2363).

(d.)   It denotes कारक relation of कर्तृ or कर्मन् with verb stems ending in कृत् affixes in general including क=त in its various meanings. Exceptions and counter exceptions are pointed out (2365-70). Verb stems denote कर्तृ relations optionally with कृत्य affixes (2371).

(e.)   Linguistic items listed in (2372) and (2373) govern 6th विभक्ति optionally alternating with 3rd or 4th respectively of nominal stems co-occurring with them.

ॐ **Chapter 9**

Panini's view of language and goal of his grammar

Panini's view of language

Natural human languages, languages not designed and planned deliberately, are a phenomenon expressed in oral noises. Panini distinguishes sounds into articulate (व्यक्त) and inarticulate (अव्यक्त). Human beings alone are gifted inherently with the faculty that produces articulate sounds. Human beings are, thus, called व्यक्तवाच् , 'possessed of articulate speech'.

Articulate sounds are the stuff human speech is composed of. Sounds other than articulate are inarticulate irrespective of the source these are produced from, animate or inanimate. A speaker, if required, on some occasion, to reproduce inarticulate sounds in his speech, he matches these with the nearest articulate sounds physically as in echo or onomatopoeic expressions e.g. पट् इति, झट् इति (6197), पटत्-पटत् इति, पटत्-पटेति (6198) etc. etc.

Stretches of articulate sounds in speech are capable of carrying oral messages. The expression वाचिक, made from वाच् 'speech' by adding the affix इक् (ठक्) denotes 'an oral communication' (5435).

Though Panini does not offer any definition of speech, language. It may, however, be characterized after his view of speech as 'meaningful structured succession of articulate sounds intended for communication in a speech community'.

295

Discourse

Language is not an unbroken continuous flow of articulate sounds like the current of a river. It is not monolithic in nature. Being a purposeful activity it is marked by certain characteristic features. For instance, there is a moment of time when a speech act begins and there is another moment when it comes to a close. There is, thus, silence before speech act starts and again there is silence when it comes to an end. Speech act is preceded and followed by silence. We open our lips when there is an urge to communicate with others or even with ourselves in soliloquy and close our lips when we have finished.

There may be one or more participants in a speech act. In point of time, it may extend over a fraction of a second or stretch over any number of hours. एषोऽहम् आगत: 'Here have I come,' may be regarded as one of the shortest stretch of speech event between two silences. The participant is just the speaker. He just announces his arrival –the message. A narration or discussion, on the other hand, may involve two or more participants and last for an indefinite period.

Stretch of speech between two silences constitute a unique unit of speech. Consider, for instance, the following act of speech bounded by two silences.

अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहम् 'I, Devadatta, pay my homage to you'.

भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त !   'May you live long O ! Devadatta!'.

This act of speech consists of two pieces uttered by two different participants. The first one is spoken by Devadatta who wishes to pay his respects to some elderly person, may be his teacher. The other portion is a pronouncement of good wishes in response to Devadatta's salutation. Thus semantically the two pieces belong to the same field. Even

296

structurally the two pieces are tied together in as much as extra-length and pitch pattern of the final syllable of the second piece is determined by the first one.

Normally a vocative has उदात्त pitch on the first syllable (61195). As vocative देवदत्त is accordingly expected to bear उदात्त pitch on ए . But actually it falls on the last syllable i.e. अ . To account for this phenomenon Panini refers to factors that lie outside the piece i.e. to the first one. Thus to explicate extra length and placement of उदात्त pitch on the last syllable of second piece, the two utterances, though spoken by two different speakers, are regarded as one unit.

Panini's structural statement in this regard reads as follows.

> प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे (वाक्यस्य टे: प्लुत उदात्त:) (8283).
> "In response to a salutation except in case of a Shudra, vowel in the last syllable of an utterance becomes extra-long and bears उदात्त pitch".

Obviously Panini considers pieces of speech, bounded by silences, whether uttered by one or more speakers, as one single unit for purposes of explication of linguistic features. Its does not provide any technical name to it. We may call it discourse.

It may be pointed out that Panini does recognize 'silence' as one of the boundaries. He calls it अवसान and defines it as 'cessation (of speech activity-14110)'. We have argued elsewhere that अवसान denotes discourse boundary. (Singh 1991, PP 367-69).

297

Linguistic analysis: Ultimate constituents

It is reasonable to assume that discourse is unit of linguistic analysis for Panini. It may be examined from two standpoints. From one it may be looked upon as a concatenation of disparate articulate speech sounds, sound-features coextensive with them and boundaries —all devoid of semantic contents and from another as meaningful chunks of speech sounds and features.

We do not go into any details of linguistic analysis here. We hope to discuss questions relating to his theory of language, analytical procedures, formulation of structural statements, organization of grammatical description etc. etc. elsewhere. Here we present only some essential end-results.

Basic speech sounds, their features and boundaries.

1.   Vowels
     (i.) Simple: अ इ उ ऋ ऌ
     (ii.) Diphthongs: ए ओ ऐ औ

     Vowels may be oral, आस्य or nasal, अनुनासिक; simple vowels have three lengths: short, ह्रस्व; long, दीर्घ and extra-long, प्लुत.

     Diphthongs are long and extra-long. Vowels may bear three pitches —high, उदात्त; low, अनुदात्त and high-low, स्वरित.

2.   Consonants
     क ख ग घ ङ   च छ ज झ ञ
     ट ठ ड ढ ण   त थ द ध न
     प फ ब भ म   य र ल व
     श ष स ह   अनुस्वार अं
     विसर्जनीय अः

298

3.   Boundaries

> Panini explicitly defines only two boundaries viz. संहिता (14109) and अवसान 'cessation (of speech activity)' (14110).

In fact there are as many boundaries as there are constructions in as much as a boundary is implied at the junction of two constituents of a construction —syntactic, morphological or compositional (compound). Grammatical operations take place at boundary points. Panini does describe various such operations.

Analytical procedure

We may venture here to suggest how Panini may have proceeded to analyze discourse beyond a chain of articulate speech sounds and features into meaningful chunks of these sounds.

Panini as a native speaker of the speech of his times, भाषा, participated in innumerable discourses and as a student and teacher, he had ample opportunities to scan and scrutinize host of Vedic texts. It does not require any speculation on our part to assume that he must have noticed recurring patterned meaningful bits of speech sounds such as प्राणः, सूर्या चन्द्रमसौ, नक्षत्राणि, पशून् , अस्मिन् , स्त्रियाम् , लोकेभ्यः, प्रजापतये, कर्णेभिः etc. constituting a distinct group distinguished by their endings in linguistic elements such as अस् , औ, आनि, भ्यस् , भिस् etc. and similarly sequences such as भवति, कुर्वन्ति, दधति, जिगमिषति, परिषष्वजा ते, असृजन्त, बुबुधिमहे, चक्रिरे, दातास्मस् , आज्ञापयति, कारयाञ्चकार etc. set off by another set of endings viz. ति, अन्ति, इरे, अन्त, महे etc. He could have also noticed sequences such as खलु, अलम् , वै, हन्त, उ्योक्, उ, सम्यक् , ह, वाव, साकम् , स्वाहा, जोषम् , दिवा etc. showing no

patterned endings but nonetheless constituting meaningful units.

The first two groups, distinguished formally by their endings, may be called respectively nominal and verbal forms and their endings nominal and verbal inflections. Residual linguistic expressions shorn of their endings may be designated as nominal and verbal bases respectively. As a covering term for these forms he uses the designation पद (1414).

It is obvious Panini is working in the framework of a full-fledged theory of linguistic analysis. It is in this background that he invokes a linguist's prerogative to include the third group of expressions viz. खलु, विना, चित् etc. in nominal forms with a rider that nominal inflectional endings in case of these stems are dropped obligatorily by a process of elision called लुक् (2482). Such stems are called अव्यय (1137).

It may be noted that overall structural behavior of the third group of expressions matches with that of nominal bases. These may occur as उपपद in underlying phrases in derivation of कृत् formations, e.g. पुरःसर- 'moving in front' (3218); उच्चैकृत्य , नीचैकारम् , तूष्णीम्भूय etc (3459, 3463). Like other nominal forms these participate in derivation of तद्धित formations, e.g. अद्यतन- 'relating to today', ह्यस्तन- 'relating to yesterday' (4323); विना 'without', नाना 'variously' (5227-34); उच्चकैः 'high' etc. (5371). Also these participate in formation of nominal compounds; e.g. अधिस्त्रि 'about women'; उपकूपम् 'near the wall'; सूपप्रति 'a little of soup' etc. (216-16).

However, description of a discourse as a chain of पदs tells us precious little about its structure. A chain of पदs as unrelated items is hardly conceivable. One has to know what sustains

these पदs together as a chain, how one पद is linked with the other. It is, thus, imperative to go into the question of their mutual relationships.

Obviously two पदs minimally constitute a unit that exhibits interrelationship. As native speaker Panini would realize that largely it is verbal forms in a discourse that serve as nucleus to attract one or more nominal forms to forge multifarious relationships with them.

There are also अव्ययs that serve as nucleus of forming large syntactic units by attracting nominal forms; e.g. जपम् अनु 'after muttering (of the scripture etc.)'; मातरम् प्रति 'towards his mother'; आ पाटलिपुत्रात् 'up to Patliputra'; अधि कुरुषु 'over Kuru lands' (238-11); शिवाय नमः 'salutation to Shiva' (2316); रामेण सह 'with Rama' (2319); ज्ञानात् ऋते 'without knowledge'; ग्रामात् आरात् 'away from the village' (2329) etc.

In turn such phrases may forge relationships with verbal forms. It may be pointed out that a nominal form not linked with a verbal form may form linkage with a nominal form related directly with it.

Nominal पदs linked among themselves or isolated पदs, linked with a verbal form may constitute a syntactic unit. Happily such a syntactic unit wholly explicable in terms of formal units, denotes a semantic unit also. In Panini's terminology it may be identified with the term वाक्य, utterance (7367, 8282 etc).

Discourse, thus, may be described as constituted of one or more utterances involving one or more participants.

301

This is a much simplified version of constituency of discourse. The question is rather more complex. In the present context we cannot do more.

We may point out that in Panini syntactic/semantic relations obtain between co-occurring bases, though exhibited by inflected forms. We have discussed this question earlier.

An illustrative example

To demonstrate how पदs are woven in relationships around a verbal form we may consider the following string of पदs constituting a वाक्य, occurring as part of a discourse.

> नचिकेता ह वै अन्नम् विना तिस्रो रात्रीर् यमस्य गृहे अवात्सीत्
>
> "नचिकेतस् , as is well-known, verily stayed, without food, for three days at the house of यम , the god of death".

There are <u>ten</u> पदs here. These do not occur as a jumbled up lot, a disjointed catalogue. Together these make a sensible and coherent statement. It is just reasonable to assume that these are connected together through a network of syntactic/semantic relationships among themselves which integrate these into one single syntactic and semantic unit. We may thus proceed to probe how these relationships are developed.

The expression अवात्सीत् is the verbal पद. It refers to the action of staying that took place. The nominal पद नचिकेता answers the question – who stayed? It goes with अवात्सीत् . The two together constitute the string नचिकेता अवात्सीत् -the core of the utterance.

The expression गृहे is directly related with अवात्सीत् . It denotes the 'locale' where action of staying took place.

यमस्य is a पद not directly related with अवात्सीत् . It is, however, linked with गृहे. In the string यमस्य गृहे it answers the question – whose house? The linkage between the two is reflection of the relationship of "owner" and the "thing owned".

The पद 'रात्री:' is directly related with अवात्सीत् . It implies that the action of staying 'continued unbroken' for several nights.

Next the form तिस्रः goes with रात्री:. It specifies exact number of 'nights'. Grammatically it shows agreement in gender, विभक्ति and number with रात्री:. The two together constitute one syntactic unit, a phrase.

The two पदs ह and वै belong to the category of अव्ययs with their विभक्ति affixes dropped obligatorily. These are related directly with the verbal form अवात्सीत् severally and together. These are used adverbially. The relationship is obviously based on semantic features.

The expression विना is also an अव्यय. It is deficient semantically. To complete the sense it demands mention of the stem denoting without 'what'. This role is filled by अन्नम् here. Thus अन्नम् विना going together constitutes a phrase. It is construed with अवात्सीत् and denotes the sense of an adverb.

We find that नचिकेतस् , ह, वै, रात्री: and गृहे are construed directly with अवात्सीत् . Among themselves these पदs are not linked either structurally or semantically. On the other hand, तिस्रः and यमस्य are linked respectively with रात्री: and गृहे. These पदs i.e. तिस्रः and यमस्य have nothing to do with the verbal form directly.

The expression विना, an अव्यय, is a class by itself. Being deficient in sense it is not construed with अवात्सीत् , with which it is construed otherwise conceptually. It demands co-occurrence of another item denoting without 'what'? Thus, अन्नम् is supplied here. The string अन्नम् विना is syntactically capable of being construed with अवात्सीत् .

The above probe makes it clear that all the पदs either singly or as part of larger constructions, form syntactic/semantic linkage with the verbal form अवात्सीत् and gradually develop into a construction, unitary in nature, with verbal form as hub.

Types of relations

We have already discussed the question of relationships between co-occurring constituents in syntactic constructions. We may, however, discuss it once more in the context of the utterance being considered here.

Relationships displayed in the above utterance may be sorted out into two broad types viz. relation holding between pairs of nominal and verbal forms, e.g. नचिकेतस् and अवात्सीत् ; गृहे and अवात्सीत् ; रात्रीः and अवात्सीत् ; ह and अवात्सीत् ; वै and अवात्सीत् and (अन्नम्) विना and अवात्सीत् and those between two nominal forms, e.g. तिस्रः and रात्रीः, यमस्य and गृहे and अन्नम् and विना.

The first type may be further distinguished on the basis of pragmatic roles of 'things, entities' denoted by nominal forms vis-à-vis action denoted by verbal forms. Nominal forms in the pairs नचिकेतस्-अवात्सीत् and गृहे-अवात्सीत् stand for 'things, entities' that 'help' actualize 'activity' denoted by

304

verbal forms. The act of 'staying' is fulfilled when there is an 'entity' to perform it and when there is some 'locate' for it to take place. Thus 'things, entities' denoted by नचिकेतस् and गृहे 'help' actualize action denoted by अवात्सीत् .

On the other hand, 'things, entities' denoted by रात्री:, ह, वै etc. cannot be assigned any such roles. These describe variously the mode, manner, way etc. the verbal action takes place. For instance, रात्री: indicates that the act of 'staying' continued for several nights.

The former types of relations are called कारक. The latter are not provided with any label. These may be called simply non-कारक.

It is postulated by Panini that these relations obtain between stems rather than between their inflected forms. We have discussed the question earlier why it is so. Except कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारक relations, all other relations कारक and non-कारक, are denoted by nominal विभक्ति as described in (232-73) under (231).

Panini operates with certain semantic relationships such as विशेषण, विशेष्य, (qualifier and qualified); समानाधिकरण (co referential); संबोधन (vocative); प्रधान and उपसर्जन (principal and subordinate) etc. these are not described explicitly, these are implied in his description of grammatical constructions.

Analyses of पदs

पदs are analyzed into two constituents viz. base and inflection suffixes. Nominal infections enumerated in (412) are abbreviated as सुप् and verbal ones listed in (3478) as ि

305

तङ् . It is why पद is characterized as ending in सुप् or तिङ् (1414).

Base may be roots or derived. Derivative bases are further analyzed. Analytical procedures are repeated till we reach rudimentary elements —elements that are not broken further into smaller meaningful bits.

Discourses are, thus, broken ultimately into basic meaningful units such as डित्थ, कपिथ, कुण्ड, पीठ, वन, घन, भू , सद् , हन् , पा, कृ, सेव् , कृष् ; अ (अण्), आ (टाप्), ति (क्तिन्), तव्य (तव्यत्), त्वा (क्त्वा), इक् (ठक्), य (यञ्) etc. these are classified under nominal and verbal roots and suffixes called respectively प्रातिपदिक (1245); धातु (131) and प्रत्यय (311-2).

It may be pointed out that nominal and verbal derivatives also receive the same designations as roots (1246 and 3132 respectively).

Of these three primary elements two, namely verbal roots and suffixes have been identified exhaustively. Verbal roots are organized into a lexicon called धातुपाठ and appended to his grammar. (It is believed by scholars that originally the roots were given without any glosses which are supposed to be supplied later by some other grammarian). Affixes along with their meanings are introduced in different contexts in his grammar.

Nominal roots are recognized in theory (1245). However Panini does not provide any list of these, perhaps for the simple reason that nominal roots as such have no exclusive strict role to play. These are thus structurally part of the large bodies of derived nominal stems which are described exhaustively under कृदन्त, तद्धितान्त and समास.

Panini, however, compiles various lists of nominal bases, roots derivatives and compounds that involve structural peculiarities. These are organized into various groups (गण) and given as another appendix to his grammar.

A word about Panini's principles of linguistic analysis may be in order here.

Automatic operation of such general principles of segmentation as अन्वय and व्यतिरेक does not carry us all the way in our analysis of data and setting of basic forms. For instance, recognition of णश् 'disappear', षेव् 'serve' etc. as verbal roots; स् as first विभक्ति singular, are not fully accountable in terms of segmentation alone. The network of grammatical operations to which basic forms are to be subjected, has been, we believe one of the important consideration with Panini in his decision in positing primary elements. Anyway principles of linguistic analysis as practiced by Panini have to be worked out and stated in full. We have to work these out in a later work.

Goal of grammar

By breaking up discourse into a set of articulate speech sounds and features and into three meaningful primary linguistic elements, Panini comes to realize that all discourses, small or big, are composed of this stuff. With these elements in hand, Panini proceeds to write his grammar.

He conceives grammar as a sort of device to reconstruct from these primary elements various linguistic constructions, syntactic and non-syntactic.

307

Following are the non-syntactic constructions described explicitly in Panini.

i.	एकशेष	(1264-73).
ii.	समास	(213-2238).
iii.	सनादि	(315-31).
iv.	कृत्	(3193-3478).
v.	तिङन्त	(3477-112).
vi.	सुबन्त	(411-2).
vii.	स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्त	(413-81).
viii.	तद्धित	(4176-54160).
ix.	सर्वस्व द्वे	(811-15).

To these may be added two syntactic constructions, namely sentence (वाक्य) and discourse.

x.   Sentence:

Formation of simplex sentences is implied in Panini's treatment of कारकs (1423-55) and representation of these relations by nominal (232-73) and verbal inflections (3469) and such कृत् affixes that can be used finitely (3470) etc.

Embedding of कृदन्त formations made from underlying simplex structures in a simplex utterance of which these form part structurally and semantically, accounts largely for formation of complex utterances. There are other complex utterances derived from two or more simplex utterances related variously viz. structurally, semantically or otherwise.

xi.   Discourse:

> Panini's explication of structural features of utterances in terms of factors obtaining in preceding sentences, implies recognition of such sequences of utterances, spoken by one or more speakers, as one structural unit called here discourse (1440, etc. 8283 etc.).

It is however, not necessary that utterances in a discourse have to be linked together always structurally. These may be related thematically and constitute a chain as a matter of course.

Likewise ellipsis in discourse is also a non-structural feature. It does not call for any treatment by Panini in his grammar.

Panini, it may be pointed out, is well aware of elliptical constructions in discourses. However such gaps are filled up naturally and effortlessly. These cause no structural ripples in discourses and no obstruction in communication. In general Panini does not take notice of linguistic facts that are not significant structurally.

Nonetheless he does describe formation of the verbal base उपस्कृ, an unusual formation structurally, expressing the sense 'supply ellipses in a discourse'. The augment सु (सुट्) is inserted before कृ preceded by उप- (61136). The act of a student, for instance, who reads a text by supplying all ellipses is aptly described as-माणवक उपस्कृतम् अधीते.

Ellipsis, a common phenomenon in natural languages, is taken care of by speakers or readers on their own without invoking any help from a grammarian. There are, thus, no structural statements in Panini touching on any aspect of it.

309

We shall now describe very briefly various constructions listed above. Nominal bases are derived variously as stated below.

एकशेष

Panini describes formation of a unique type of nominal base denoting duality or plurality (1264-73). Such bases are extracted from underlying syntactic constructions where two or more nominal inflected forms ending in the same विभक्ति are found to occur. Among themselves these are related variously. Here one of these is retained which denotes duality or plurality depending on the number of forms in the underlying construction.

We might say एकशेष nominal bases are current usage in the language in particular meanings. Panini's structural explications simply provide legitimacy to such usages. A few examples are discussed below.

The nominal base वृक्ष, for instance, denoting duality is extracted from the phrase वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च "a tree and another tree" by retaining only one of the forms. The dual number, implied in वृक्ष however, is expressed explicitly by adding to it the inflectional suffix औ, 1st विभक्ति dual. Thus we have finally वृक्षौ meaning "two trees".

Again another nominal base वृक्ष- denoting plurality is drawn similarly from the construction वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च वृक्षश्च ... 'a tree, another tree, yet another tree ...'. Plurality is expressed by the inflectional affix जस्=अस् , 1st विभक्ति plural. The form वृक्षास् thus made denotes 'many a tree'.

Take another example. The nominal base ब्राह्मण denotes both ब्राह्मण and ब्राह्मणी i.e. 'male and female Brahmins'. It is extracted from the construction ब्राह्मणश्च ब्राह्मणी च 'male Brahmin and female Brahmin'. Here ब्राह्मण is retained. It denotes duality. The inflectional affix औ is added after it to make it explicit. It is used in the same meanings as the phrase above (1267).

It may be pointed out that ब्राह्मण- could be derived from the phrase ब्राह्मणश्च ब्राह्मणश्च. And in that case ब्राह्मणौ will denote simply 'two Brahmins'.

One more example. Stem पितृ - denotes both parents, father and mother. It is based on the construction पिता च माता च 'father and mother'. Here also duality of parents is denoted by inflectional suffix औ, 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति dual (1270).

It may be pointed out that in his structural statements here Panini reads the item to be retained in the 2nd विभक्ति.

समास

Two or more inflected nominal forms related syntactically and semantically are compounded together to form a nominal base (213-2238). E.g. ग्राम-गत- 'gone to the village' from the underlying syntactic construction ग्रामम् गत: (2124); वृकभय 'fear of wolf', 'from वृकाद् भयम् ' (2137); नीलकमल- 'blue lotus', 'from नीलम् कमलम् ' (2157); धर्मात्मा 'virtuous by nature', 'from धर्म आत्मा अस्य ' (2224) etc.

सनादि

The affixes described in (315-31) are added to verbal or nominal stems to make verb stems. Eschewing all details of

their formation, we illustrate these in the following constructions.

(i)   ग्रामम् जिगमिषामि अहम् 'I want to go to the village'. The verbal derivative जिगमिष- here is formally made from the root गम् 'to go' by adding the affix स (सन्). Conceptually गम् is assumed to hold कर्मन् relation with इष् in an underlying structure (317).

(ii)   पुत्रीयति नृपः 'The king wants a son for himself'. The denominative verb stem पुत्रीय- is made by adding the affix य (=क्यच्) to पुत्र- . The nominal stem in the underlying construction holds कर्मन् relation with इष्. Additionally it is implied that what is desired is for 'oneself'. The underlying construction, thus, set up here is - नृपः आत्मनः पुत्रम् इच्छति.

(iii)   श्येनायते काकः 'The crow behaves like a hawk'. The denominative verbal form श्येनाय– is made by adding the suffix य (क्यङ्) to श्येन. In the underlying structure the nominal श्येन- holds कर्तृ relation with a verbal stem denoting 'behave' and serves as object of comparison. The underlying construction assumed is श्येन इव आचरति काकः.

In all these derivations, it may be pointed out, that the affixes come after inflected forms and inflectional affixes are dropped obligatorily. The underlying construction may be used optionally.

(iv)   दरिद्रान् भोजयति श्रेष्ठी 'The rich man feeds the poor'.
The affix इ (=णिच्) is added directly to verbal
stem भुज- 'eat' to make a causal form from it.

कृदन्त

(i)   कृदन्त nominal bases are made by adding derivative
suffixes denoting various meanings directly to verbal
bases, roots and derivatives. E.g. कृ-तृ=कर्तृ 'one who
does' (31133); सृ-ति=सृति 'path' (3394); चिकीर्ष-उ=चिकीर्षु
'desirous of doing' (32168).

Panini's commentators assume these derivatives are
made from such underlying syntactic constructions as
करोति इति कर्ता, etc.

(ii)   By adding suffixes to verbal bases holding syntactic
relations with some elements in underlying syntactic
constructions, e.g. शय- by adding the suffix अ (अच्) to
शी 'lie down, sleep' when it occurs with a nominal
base ending in some विभक्ति. For instance, शी holds अधि
करण relation with ख 'sky' in खे शेते. The derivative शय
thus formed is not a free form. It is compounded
obligatorily with co-occurring nominal form (2219).
Thus खे शयः = खशयः 'one sleeping in sky, in open'
(3215).

313

तिङन्त - **Verbal inflected forms**

Verbal inflected forms are made by introducing inflectional affixes listed in (3478) after verbal bases (3191) to denote categories of person and number (14101-102); कर्तृ and कर्मन् कारकs (3469) and various tense-mode distinctions as described in (32105 etc). Inflectional suffixes belong to two sets- परस्मैपद and आत्मनेपद (1499-100).

Verb stems may be transitive, सकर्मक or intransitive, अकर्मक. The verbal form हसति, for instance, is constituted of हस् 'laugh, smile', an intransitive verbal root and the suffix ति (represented as तिप् lexically), 3rd person singular denoting present tense (32123). Besides it denotes कर्तृ कारक which obtains between a nominal stem and the verbal root हस् . The nominal base holding कर्तृ relation occurs in the 1st विभक्ति and shows agreement in person and number with the verbal form.

The string हस्-ति is subjected to appropriate grammatical operations and is realized as हसति 'He laughs, smiles'.

It may occur in such syntactic constructions as शिशु: हसति 'The child laughs'.

Consider another inflected form viz. भुङ्क्ते 'He eats'. Here the constituents are भुज् 'eat' and ते.

The inflectional affix ते is 3rd person singular. It refers to present tense. Added after भुज् , the string भुज्-ते is produced. It undergoes appropriate grammatical processes and is realized as भुङ्क्ते. It occurs in such syntactic constructions as देव दत्त: अपूपम् भुङ्क्ते 'Devadatta eats a cake'.

Here also there is कर्तृ relation between देवदत्त and भुज् . It is denoted by inflectional affix.

सुबन्त nominal inflected forms

Nominal inflected forms are produced by introducing nominal inflections enumerated in (412) after nominal stems (प्रातिपदिक 1245-46) and those feminine gender stems which end in feminine gender forming suffixes subsumed under ङी (ङीप्, ङीष् and ङीन्) and आप् (टाप्, डाप् and चाप्) (411).

Inflectional suffixes denote three numbers (14103) and कारक and non-कारक syntactic and/or semantic relations as described in (232-73).

The inflected form तरुषु , for instance, is constituted of the elements तरु - 'a tree', a प्रातिपदिक and सु (represented lexically as सुप्), denoting the 7th विभक्ति plural.

The initial string तरु-सु thus produced undergoes appropriate phonological processes and is realized as तरुषु. It may participate in such syntactic constructions as.

तरुषु विहगा: आश्रयन्ते   "Birds rest on trees"

Here the 7th विभक्ति denotes अधिकरण कारक (2336) which obtains between तरु and आ-श्रि (1445).

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्त

Feminine gender nominal bases are made by introducing suffixes denoting <u>exclusively</u> feminine gender after nominal stems (प्रातिपदिक), realized or potential (414-81). Examples are.

315

अजा 'she goat';
      from अज- by adding the suffix आ (टाप्) (414).
कर्त्री 'lady agent';
      from कर्तृ by ई (ङीप्) (415).
कुरुचरी "a lady who moves about in Kuru-Land"
      from कुरुचर by ई (ङीप्) (415).
अष्टाध्यायी 'a treatise of eight chapters'
      from अष्टाध्याय by ई (ङीप्) 4121).
पञ्चपूली 'a collection of five bundles'
      from पञ्चपूल by adding ई (ङीप्) (4121).
      (Such compounds are always realized as feminine).
मामकी 'mine';
      from मामक by adding ई (ङीप्) (4130).
अग्नायी 'wife of fire god'
      from अग्नि 'fire-god' by adding ई (ङीप्) (4137).
जानपदी 'mode of living as that of country-side'
      from जनपद by adding ई (ङीष्) (4142).
गणकी 'wife of an astrologer';
      from गणक by adding ई (ङीष्) (4148).
करभोरू 'a lady having thighs like that of an elephant'
      from करभोरु by adding the affix ऊ (ऊङ) (4169).
आवन्ती 'a lady resident of Avanti'
      from अवन्ति by adding ई (ङीष्) (4165).
युवती 'a young damsel';
      from युवन् by adding ति (4177).

Consider another inflected form viz. शूद्रीम् . The two constituents here are शूद्री and अम् .

316

The expression शूद्री is a feminine base made by adding the suffix ई (ङीष्) to शूद्र, a nominal stem (प्रातिपदिक) (4163). It conveys the sense of 'a woman of the 'Shudra' class'. The inflectional suffix अम् is second विभक्ति singular. By adding the affix to शूद्री we produce the string शूद्री-अम् . It undergoes appropriate phonological processes and is realized as शूद्रीम् .

Its participation is illustrated in the following syntactic construction.

> नात्र शूद्रीम् प्रयुञ्जीत (कात्यायन-स्मृति 807).
> "(The house-hold) should not appoint a wife belonging to the शूद्र class in this (ceremony of producing fire by rubbing अरुणि wood pieces)".

Here शूद्री holds कर्मन् relation with उप-युज् .

तद्धितान्त

तद्धितान्त nominal bases are made as follows.

(a.)   By introducing derivative suffixes denoting various meanings after inflected nominal forms related syntactically and semantically with co-occurring nominal or verbal forms in syntactic constructions (4176-54160) e.g. औपगव- 'an offspring of उपगु' is made by adding the affix अ (अण्) denoting the meaning 'offspring thereof' after उपगो: occurring in the syntactic construction उपगो: अपत्यम् (4192).

Similarly नाविक - 'a boatman' is made by adding the affix इक (ठक्) meaning 'crosses with it' occurring in the syntactic construct नावा तरति (445).

317

(b.)   By introducing the affixes तर- and तम- denoting 'comparative and absolute supremacy' after nominal bases and inflected verbal forms (5356-57) e.g.

आढ्यतर-   'richer of the two' from आढ्य - "rich".
आढ्यतम-   'richest of all'
पचतितराम्   'cooks better of the two' from "पचति "
पचतितमाम्   'cooks best of all'

It may be pointed out that the suffixes तर - and तम - after verbal forms are necessarily followed by the suffix आम् (5411).

(c.)   By introducing suffixes and infixes variously after nominal bases, nominal and verbal inflected forms denoting specific meanings e.g.

वृक्षक - 'a small tree'
          from वृक्ष-by adding the affix क (5386).
तैलक - 'small quantity of oil'
          from तैल by adding क (5385).
युवकयो :'of you two'
          from युवयो: by infixing अक (अकच्) (5371).
पचतकि 'cooks a little'
          from पचति by infixing अक (अकच्) (5385).
कतर -   'which of the two'
          from किम् by adding तर (डतरच्) (5392).
कतम - 'which of the many'
          from किम् by adding तम (तमच्) (5393).

Reiterative Constructions

Reiterative constructions are formed by repeating in full a प
द. Repeated entities constitute a phrase. Some of these are,
however, found to combine into a compound-like structure, ब
हुव्रीहि or कर्मधारय. The second constituent in the sequence is
called आम्रेडित. It bears अनुदात्त pitch. The constructions thus
formed express various meanings.   A few illustrative
examples are given here.

(a)   i.   गदे ऽशनि स्पर्शननिस्फुलिङ्गे <u>निष्पिण्डि निष्पिण्ढच</u> जितप्रिय
            कृष्माण्डवैनायकयक्षरक्षोभूतग्रहांश<u>्चूर्णय चूर्णयारीन्</u> (भाग 6.8.24)
            'O! Club! Giving fire spark whose touch is like
            lightening, dear to the unconquerable, grind into
            pieces कृष्माण्ड, वैनायक, यक्ष and demons and evil
            beings; Pulverize completely the enemies'.

       ii.   भोजं भोजं/ भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा सभाया निर्गच्छन्ति ब्राह्मणाः ॑ॢ
            'Having eaten to their fill, the Brahmins leave the
            hall.'

       Reiterative   phrases   in   such   utterances   denote
       'performance of an activity over again and again (िं
       नत्य)'.

(b)   iii.   मनुष्यः मनुष्यः निधनम् उपैति ।
            'Everyman meets his death'.

       iv.   तुभ्यं तुभ्यं निष्कम् इति यत्राक्रोशन्ति द्विजाः (महा. शान्ति. 29. 47)
            'Where the Brahmins shout, 'Here is a निष्क for
            each one of you'.

       The reiterative phrases in such sentences denote
       'extent of an event or attribute, (वीप्सा).

(c)   v.   परि परि त्रिगर्तेभ्यो देवः ।
            'It rained all around except त्रिगर्त '.

319

vi. अधि अधि ग्रामम् वनं वर्तते ।

'Close to the village lies the forest'.

Repeated forms here denote 'exclusion' and 'nearness' respectively.

vii.   एकैकम् अक्षरं पठति ।

'He reads every syllable'.

The expression एकैकम् based on एकम् एकम् is treated like a बहुव्रीहि compound.

(d)   viii. पटुपटुः अयं मानवः ।

'This boy is sort of intelligent'.

The expression पटुपटुः based on the sequence पटुः पटुः, is treated like कर्मधारय compound.   It denotes the sense of 'possessing a quality to a limited extent (प्रकार)'.

Sentences

(a)   Simple sentences : Role of कारक relations

Before we proceed to describe how simple sentences are produced in Panini, we shall like to recapitulate some grammatical information relevant in this context.

We have discussed at length in a previous section how Panini organizes nominal bases exhaustively in <u>six</u> groups denoting uniquely specific कारक   relations in terms of pragmatic roles displayed by 'things, entities' denoted by them vis-à-vis actions denoted by verbal bases co-occurring with them in syntactic constructions of the type called कर्तृवाच्य.

It may be pointed out that nominal bases co-occurring with transitive and intransitive verbal bases may optionally participate respectively in constructions called कर्मवाच्य and भा

320

ववाच्य and continue to mark the same कारक relations as these do in कर्तृवाच्य constructions.

The कारक relations in various constructions are, however, expressed diversely. The कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations are expressed by verb inflections respectively in कर्तृ and कर्मवाच्य constructions while all other relations are expressed by nominal inflections. On the other hand, all कारक relations in भा ववाच्य are expressed by nominal inflections.

Syntactic and/or semantic relationships, denoted by nominal inflections are described under (231) in (232-73).

It may be borne in mind that co-occurring nominal and verbal base pairs holding various कारक relations may happen to be identical lexically. In such cases it is the uniqueness of pragmatic role by the same nominal base that decides the nature of कारक relations.

For instance, the 'thing, object' denoted by the nominal base वृक्ष 'a tree' plays three distinct and unique roles viz. that of being स्वतन्त्र, ध्रुव and आधार vis-à-vis the action of 'falling' denoted by the verb base पत् in the following constructions and, thus, denotes <u>three</u> different कारक relations namely कर्तृ , अपादान and अधिकरण respectively in (a), (b) and (c).

(a).   वृक्षः पतति   'The tree falls'.
(b).   वृक्षात् पर्णम् पतति   'A leaf falls from the tree'.
(c).   वृक्षे पतन्ति वर्षाबिन्दवः   'Rain drops fall on the tree'.

Verb inflections (as well as कृत् affixes) fall into two types viz. सार्वधातुक and आर्धधातुक (34113-117).

With these preliminaries stated we may now proceed to describe formation of simple utterances. This account, we

trust, is in conformity with Panini's structural statements relevant in this context.

The process

The device to produce simple sentences is straightforward. The process starts with the speaker picking up a pair of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases appropriate to what he has in his mind to talk about, from set of pairs identified in various structural statements referred to above.

The speaker, let us assume, opts for वृक्ष-पत् indicated by the statement (1424). The pair वृक्ष-पत् now constitutes a structural string since there obtains between them a syntactic relation of अपादान कारक.

Before proceeding further we pause here to find out if there is any other pair or pairs in which पत् may participate. Network of कारक relationships, as we know, is woven around verbal bases and verbal base may contract one or more such relationships. Running through the statements (1425-54) we may identify that such nominal bases as भूमि 'ground' and पर्ण 'a leaf' may occur with it to denote respectively relations of अधिकरण (1445) and कर्तृ (1454).

However, it is for the speaker to talk or not to talk about these relationships in the present context. Suppose he does. In that case nominal bases भूमि, पर्ण and वृक्ष being related structurally with पत् constitute a structured string which may be represented as follows.

वृक्ष - अपादान   भूमि - अधिकरण   पर्ण - कर्तृ   पत्

At this juncture the speaker has certain options to go one way or the other. The verbal base पत् is intransitive. It can

322

participate in कर्तृ or भाववाच्य construction. Suppose the speaker opts for कर्तृवाच्य.

In कर्तृवाच्य construction inflectional suffixes introduced after verbal bases express कर्तृ कारक (3469). Inflectional suffixes belong to two different sets - आत्मनेपद and परस्मैपद. Verb bases do not select these randomly. The verbal base पत् belongs to भ्वादि class of roots. Per usage it is inflected only in परस्मैपद. Now it may be inflected in any of the paradigms denoting various tense-mode distinctions.

The speaker may opt for the paradigm लट् denoting present tense(32123). The suffix ति (represented lexically as तिप्), 3rd person singular is introduced after it. The string पत्-ति is produced.

Such strings may be subjected to grammatical and phonological operations. In the present case the inflectional suffix तिप् is found to belong to सार्वधातुक group of suffixes. Before such a suffix denoting कर्तृ , the element शप्-अ is introduced after verbal bases (3168). The string पत्-ति now changes to पत्-शप्-ति. Here no phonological operation is called for. Thus it is realized as पतति finally.

If कर्तृ relation is being denoted by verb inflection, it has not to be expressed any longer by a nominal inflection. But in terms of (411), the nominal base पर्ण designating कर्तृ कारक has to have some nominal inflection. In Panini's system the 1st विभिक्त expresses only non-syntactic semantic relations. Co-occurring with पतति, thus, 1st विभक्ति after पर्ण denotes person and number only which is here 3rd person and singular. Thus

323

nominal and verbal forms come to show agreement in person and number.

The 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति element सु-स् introduced after पर्ण - produces the string पर्ण-स् .

Nominal inflectional suffixes are sensitive to gender of the base. The nominal base पर्ण is neuter. The suffix सु is replaced by अम् after a neuter gender base ending in अ (7124). Thus the string पर्ण-सु changes to पर्ण-अम् . It undergoes appropriate phonological processes and is realized as पर्णम् denoting कर्तृ in the context.

Next we come to attend to वृक्ष denoting अपादान relation. It is the 5ᵗʰ विभक्ति that expresses अपादान (2328). Since the speaker talks of falling of one leaf, पर्णम् , it is but reasonable to produce an inflected form from वृक्ष - denoting singularity. The suffix ङसि = अस् is introduced after वृक्ष - generating the string वृक्ष-ङसि. The suffixङसि is replaced by अत् after bases ending in अ (7112). Thus वृक्ष-ङसि is replaced by वृक्ष-अत् which passing through appropriate phonological processes is realized as वृक्षात् .

Next we take up the nominal base भूमि which expresses अधिकरण. It is the 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति which denotes this relationship (2336). There is no obvious reason to make an inflected form other than one denoting singularity from भूमि . A string भूमि-ङि, thus comes into being. The inflectional suffix ङि=इ is replaced by औ (73118) or by आम् (73116). Thus we have भूमि-औ and भूमि-आम् . After application of appropriate phonological processes we realize भूमौ and भूम्याम् respectively.

The initial structural string.

324

वृक्ष-अपादान   पर्ण-कर्तृ भूमि-अधिकरण   पत्(कर्तृवाच्य)

is replaced by.

वृक्ष-ङसि् पर्ण-सु   भूमि-ङि पत्-तिप्

and is realized finally as.

वृक्षात्   पर्णम्   भूमौ   पतति

"The leaf falls from the tree on the ground".

Alternate version in भाववाच्य

Since the verbal base पत् is intransitive, alternately, it could be nucleus of formation of भाववाच्य construction also.

To produce भाववाच्य, the आत्मनेपद suffix ते, instead of the परस्मैपद suffix तिप् , is introduced after पत् (1313).

The verbal inflectional suffix in भाववाच्य is neutralized to representation of any कारक relation. It simply indicates verbal action and is, thus, employed always in 3rd person and singular.

The कर्तृ कारक, no longer expressed by verbal inflection, is expressed by nominal suffix. The कर्तृ is expressed by the 3rd विभक्ति (2318). The rest of the कारकs here continue to be expressed by respective विभक्तिs after the manner in कर्तृवाच्य. The string in भाववाच्य, thus, assumes the following form.

वृक्ष-ङसि पर्ण-टा   भूमि-ङि पत्-ते   (भाववाच्य)

The element य(यक्) is introduced after पत् before ते which belongs to सार्वधातुक group of suffixes when expressing भाववाच्य (3167). Also the nominal suffix टा is replaced by इन after nominal bases ending in अ (7112).

325

The above string with these changes effected is realized as follows.

वृक्षात् पर्णेन भूमौ पत्यते ।
"The leaf falls from the tree on the ground".

कर्मवाच्य construction

We may also illustrate here how a कर्मवाच्य construction is produced.

The nucleus of a कर्मवाच्य construction is a transitive verbal base (3469). Thus we need to pick up a nominal and verbal base pair where verbal base is transitive.

We may opt for ओदन-भुज् which is included in the set of pairs described in (1449). Here कर्मन् relation obtains between ओदन and भुज् . It is designated by ओदन.

Let us find out what other nominal bases holding any other कारक relations could co-occur with भुज् . Checking with statements (1424-54), we feel nominal bases like माणवक denoting कर्तृ (1454); पात्री, अधिकरण (1445) and हस्त, करण (1442) could pair with भुज् .

The following structural string, thus, may be obtained.

माणवक कर्तृ , पात्री अधिकरण, हस्त करण, ओदन कर्मन् , भुज् कर्मन् .

The आत्मनेपद suffix ते is introduced here after भुज् when it participates in कर्मवाच्य construction (1313). The element यक्=य comes after verbal bases before a सार्वधातुक affix denoting कर्मन् (3169).

Since verbal inflection denotes कर्मन् here, no nominal inflection is needed to be introduced after ओदन to express it

326

(231). However, the 1ˢᵗ विभक्ति which does not denote any कारक relation in Panini is introduced after it to denote person and number showing agreement in these categories with verbal form.

The 3ʳᵈ विभक्ति is introduced after माणवक and हस्त to denote कर्तृ and करण respectively (2318) and 7ᵗʰ विभक्ति after पात्री to express अधिकरण (2336). Thus we obtain the following structural string.

माणवक-टा,   पात्री-ङि हस्त-टा ओदन-सु भुज्-यक्-ते

After appropriate grammatical and phonological operations, it is realized as follows.

माणवकेन पात्र्याम्   हस्तेन   ओदन: भुज्यते

"Rice is eaten by the boy with his hand from the vessel".

(b)   Complex utterances

We have discussed above simple utterances characterized by internet of syntactic relations spun around a single verbal base as hub. These may be distinguished from utterances that involve two or more verbal bases interrelated variously and exhibiting consequently two or more sets of syntactic relationships. These may be called complex utterances.

i.   Structural Relationship

Consider the following construction.

इच्छामि अहम् भवान् मम गृहे भुञ्जीत ।
"I desire you to eat at my place."

327

It involves two verbal bases namely इष् 'desire' and भुज् 'eat'. Each of these may be nucleus of a syntactic construction.

The verbal stem base इष् is transitive. Minimally it may hold कर्तृ and कर्मन् relations with appropriate nominal bases. Here the pronominal base अस्मद् holds कर्तृ relation with it which is expressed by verb inflection मि, 1ˢᵗ person singular.

However, there is no other nominal base visible here to which कर्मन् role could be assigned. This role is obviously filled by the construction .

भवान् मम गृहे भुञ्जीत ।

The two constructions are, thus, interlinked structurally and for that reason these come to constitute one unitary complex construction.

It is intriguing to note that the verbal base as participant in constituent sentence playing the role of कर्मन् is inflected in the paradigms लिङ् or लोट् . It cannot be replaced freely by forms from other paradigms. This constraint may be regarded as semantic and structural, but more structural.

On the other hand इष् is free to be inflected in any paradigm.

This restriction for भुज् and freedom for इष् on selection of inflectional paradigms is reflection of structural status of respective constituent sentences. The sentence built around इष् may be regarded the main sentence structurally and the one involving भुज् is structurally part of the main sentence as कर्मन् of इष् .

328

It is this structural interrelationship that determines formal structures of constituent sentences and ensures structural coherence and unity to the complex construction.

Panini's explication

Since Panini regards verbal bases as nucleus of syntactic relationships in simplex sentences, it amounts to saying that relationship between two verbal bases is relationship between two sentences built around them.

To describe complex structure under discussion Panini would maintain that भुज् selects suffixes in paradigms लिङ् or लोट् when it is in construction with verbal bases 'expressing desire' (33157). He has not to specify relationship between इष् and भुज् in so many words. The verbal base इष् being transitive it is patently कर्मन् .

Now the sentence with भुज् is structurally part of the sentence with इष् and both together constitute one complex sentence.

(ii.)   Relation of cause and effect : हेतु-हेतुमत्

Consider the following complex construction.

> दक्षिणेन चेद् यायात् न शकटम् पर्याभवेत् ।
> "If it goes by right side, the cart won't topple."

Here the constituents are two constructions built around verbal bases या 'go' and परि-आ-भू 'topple down' respectively. The relationship between them is that of cause and effect. Going of the cart not by the right side is considered the cause of its toppling down, the effect. The two utterance can constitute a composite —complex construction on this bases.

329

What are other structural implications?

Actions denoted by verbal bases here are assumed to refer to future time. The more usual way of denoting futurity according to current usage is by use of the suffixes of लृट् paradigm (3313). The utterance could be formed as follows.

दक्षिणेन चेद् यास्यति न शकटम् पर्याभविष्यति ।

However linguistic usage allows an option. The suffixes of लिङ् paradigm are also found to express the same sense. Hence Panini comes to notice and describe this usage (33156). In a way it extends use of लिङ् as described in (33161) to include हेतुहेतुमद् also.

Use of such particles as चेत् , यदि meaning 'if' with condition constituent is just to make eminently explicit the fact of conditioning (हेतु).

(iii.)   Pragmatic relationship

We shall like to discuss formation of one more complex utterance.

> माणवक: उपाध्यायात् व्याकरणम् अध्येतुम् गुरुकुलम् याति ।
> "In order to study grammar from his teacher, the student repairs to his abode".

The construction involves two verbal bases viz. अधि-इ 'study' and या 'go' implying there are two sentential constituents here.

It may be noted that (i) both verbal bases share the same entity, namely माणवक as कर्तृ ; (ii) what motivates the student to undertake a journey to his teacher's abode, namely to

330

study grammar, is entirely a personal consideration, a non-linguistic factor. Panini interprets it as action performed in order to perform another action; and (iii) the action in view is one that is to be performed sometime later in relation to the action being performed currently.

For these linguistic and non-linguistic considerations the two utterances could be combined together to form a complex structure.

Linguistic usage attests several options to take care of it.

One option, structurally more transparent is to introduce inflectional suffixes of the paradigm लृट् denoting futurity with verbal base अधि-इ action denoted by which is yet to be performed (3313). Thus the following utterance is produced.

उपाध्यायात् व्याकरणम् अध्येष्ये इति माणवक: गुरुकुलम् याति ।

We may note that with minimal linguistic changes both the utterances almost retain their structural identity. Use of 1st person singular with अध्येष्ये is co-referential with माणवक in the second sentence.

Another option is to introduce the derivative affix तुमुन्=तुम् denoting futurity in the present context after अधि-इ (3310). Thus we produce the complex construction cited above.

Other options available are described in (3311-12).

Illustrative examples of complex utterances discussed above make it clear that Panini takes notice of only such constructions which involve explication of some structural phenomenon exhibited therein. Formation of such complex utterances as जानामि भवान् कुत: आगत: go unnoticed in Panini for the simple reason that there is no structural point here which needs to be explicated at any level of their organization.

331

We may also note that explications of structural features could be in terms of linguistic and non-linguistic factors drawn from total environments of use of language.

Discourse

Utterances, produced by one or more participants in a speech event, may occur in sequences as in a narration or dialogue. Such blocks of utterances, held together primarily by the thematic unity, are marked by silences before and after their production.

In such groups of utterances we may come across utterances that are marked by structural, semantic or pragmatic features not explicable in terms of features available in these sentences. Rather, factors explicating these features are available in neighboring sentences. Such groups of utterances may, thus, be recognized as structural units higher than sentences and may be called discourses.

We may discuss two examples of small discourses mentioned in Panini.

Consider the following sequence of utterances.

i.   अकार्षी: कटम् देवदत्त ? "O, Devadatta! Have you made the mat?"

ii. ननु करोमि भो:   "Yes sir, I have made it".

We assume there is silence before the first utterance is pronounced; and again there is silence after the second one has been spoken.

The first utterance is a question addressed to Devadatta and the second one is made by Devadatta in response to it. Both of these relate to on event that took place in the past, not specified in anyway as परोक्ष, अपरोक्ष, अद्यतन or अनद्यतन.

Affixes of the paradigm लुङ् are employed to describe such unspecified past (32110).

The verbal form अकार्षीः in the first utterance conforms to the pattern of forms in the paradigm लुङ्. It is 2nd person singular from the verbal base कृ 'do, make'.

In the second sentence we expect the appropriate form as अकार्षम् 1st person singular in लुङ् to be used. Instead we find करोमि, a form in लट् denoting 'present' (32123).

This looks simply preposterous. It does not fit into the system of representation of 'tense system' as built by Panini.

You may feel uneasy about this usage. But you cannot throw it away. It is very much an integral part of linguistic usage. The use of लट् in place of लुङ् has to be accepted and accommodated in the tense system in any case.

How does Panini go about it?

We presume Panini's system of tense-mode representation is evolved in the first place in terms of generality of usage. The statements भूते धातोः लुङ् (32110), धातोः वर्तमाने लट् (32123) and लृट् शेषे च (3313) etc. are generalized statements. These hold good for most of the time.

Usage not covered by such generalized statements are probed further. Eschewing details here how he might have proceeded in each case, we may postulate as a rule of thumb that he must have examined totality of environments in which such deviations take place. Finally he comes out with structural statements defining domains and crucial linguistic and non-linguistic factors accounting for their use in each case.

In the present case Panini accounts for use of लट् in place of लुङ् when

(i.)   it is used in an utterance which is made in response to a question where लुङ् forms are employed,

(ii.)   the particle ननु 'of course' is in construction with the verbal base (after which लट् affixes are introduced).

We may maintain that the critical factor accounting for use of लट् in place of लुङ् is its occurrence in a sequence of sentences that stand in relation of question and answer, thus constituting a discourse.

Co-occurrence of the particle ननु 'of course' is a concomitant feature only. Forms of लट् do not replace लुङ् forms in an utterance that is not made in response to a question, e.g. ननु अहम् कटम् अकार्षम् 'Of course, I made the mat'(32120).

Let us discuss another sequence of sentences.

(i.)   एतम् छात्रम् छन्दो अध्यापय
       "Please teach this student metrics".

(ii.)   अथो एनम् व्याकरणम् अपि अध्यापय
        "Well, teach him grammar also".

The first sentence expresses a request to teach this student prosody. The second sentence just in continuation adds further that to teach him grammar also.

To indicate that the request to teach grammar is being made for the same student, the speaker instead of merely repeating the phrase 'एतम् छात्रम् -this student' makes use of another pronominal form differing structurally but referring to the same student.

How do we account for this alternation? There are no linguistic or non-linguistic factors visible in the sentence in terms of which such substitution could be explicated. Here the pronominal form एनम् used in the second sentence in made form एन instead of एतद् .

Panini's explication in this regard is quite revealing. He states that if the pronominal base एतद् (as also इदम्) is used again in a subsequent sentence referring to the same entity, it is replaced by एन before 2nd, 3rd and dual affixes of 6th and 7th विभक्तिs (2434). Inflected forms made from the alternant stem एन- employed in the latter sentence refers to the same 'entity' mentioned earlier.

Panini's explication of base alternation in an utterance in terms of factors available in the preceding one, gives recognition positively to a higher syntactic unit composed of two or more utterances, called here discourse. It is only in a discourse that factors in one sentence may affect grammatical behavior of linguistic units in the other just as in a morphological construction, a single structural unit, one constituent may affect another grammatically.

It may be mentioned that linguistic usage attests that for the alternation of एतद् and इदम् to take place as described above, it is not crucial these stems occur actually in a prior sentence. What is crucial is their use as anaphoric in a subsequent sentence referring to a nominal base occurring in the preceding sentence. Note the following passage.

> तत् स्त्रिया आत्मभूयम् गच्छति यथा स्वयम् अङ्गम् तथा । तस्माद् एनाम् न
> हिनस्ति.   (ऐतरेयोपनिषद् 2.1.2).

335

"Like one's own limb that (i.e. the semen) becomes one with the women (i.e. wife). Therefore, it does not hurt her……".

Here the pronominal inflected form एनाम् is made by replacing एतद् by एन since it refers to स्त्री in the prior sentence.

Thus to recognize discourse, a syntactic unit higher than sentence, is a structural necessity for Panini to explicate such structures as discussed above.

Largely utterances, simple or complex, participating in discourses confirm to structural patterns as described by Panini. We presume that whatever aberrations from usual patterns came to his notice, are being described specifically in his structural statements.

Ellipses

We shall like to refer to the phenomenon of ellipsis, a characteristic feature of discourses. Study the following passage, a dialogue between उद्दालक and his son श्वेतकेतु.

न्यग्रोधफलम् अत आहर इति ।
इदम् भगव इति ।
भिन्द्धि इति ।
भिन्नम् भगव इति ।
किम् अत्र पश्यसि इति ।
अण्व्य इवेमा धाना भगव इति ।
आसाम् अङ्ग एकाम् भिन्द्धि इति ।
भिन्ना भगव इति ।
किम् अत्र पश्यसि इति ।
न किञ्चन भगव इति । 1.

336

तम् ह उवाच -

यम् वै सोम्य ! एतम् अणिमानम् न निभाल्यस एतस्य वै सोम्य एषो अणि
म्न एवम् महान् न्यग्रोधस् तिष्ठति । श्रद्धत्स्व सोम्य इति । 2.
स य एषोऽणिमा ऐतदात्म्यम् इदम् सर्वम् ।   तत् सत्यम् ।   स आत्मा ।तत्
त्वम् असि श्वेतकेतो इति । 3. (छा. 6.12.1-3)
"Fetch a fruit from the banyan tree."
"It is the one, venerable sir!"
"Break it."
"It is broken, venerable sir!"
"What do you see in it?"
"Venerable sir! There are the grains, more atomic."
"Dear son! Break one of them."
"It is broken, venerable sir!"
"What do you see here?"
"Nothing whatsoever, O venerable sir." 1.
To him he said-
"O! good looking one! This subtleness which you
cannot perceive, of the very subtleness of the size
of an atom, O! good looking one! stands this huge
banyan tree. Have faith, O! good looking one. .
That which is this subtle essence, all this has got
that as self, thou art that. O! श्वेतकेतु !". 3. (छान्दोग्य.
6.12.1-3)
(Translated by swami Gambhirananda).

The underlined expressions, spoken by either of the
participants, in the above discourse are fragmentary in
structure. However, this fact does not impede communication
between the two. The dialogue proceeds smoothly, one
comprehending the other completely. As speaker and
listener each one is fully aware of the structure and
meanings of these incomplete utterances. Each one is fully

competent to retrieve the missing elements and put them in the right place to complete the utterance, if need be. श्वेतके तु's actual utterance इदम् भगव:, for instance, is intended to convey इदम् न्यग्रोधफलम् अस्ति भगव:. And उद्दालक in fact interprets it that way and on the basis of this information he proceeds further to ask him to break it. He simply utters the single item भिन्धि. So the dialogue proceeds uninterruptedly without anybody's seeking any clarification of what is uttered by the other.

Here is a more interesting instance of an elliptical construction underlined in the following discourse.

> श्वेतकेतुर् आरुणेय: पञ्चालानाम् समितिम् इयाय तम् ह प्रवाहणो जैवलिर् उवाच- कुमारानु त्वाशिषत् पिता इति । <u>अनु हि भगव</u> इति । (छा. 5.3.1)
> "Shvetaketu, son of Aruni, repaired to the assembly of Panchalas. Pravahana, son of Jivala, asked him- 'Did your father instruct you (in spiritual matters)? Dear one!' 'Indeed he did, O! venerable sir!' (replied Shvetaketu)".

Here the expression अनु हि भगव: stands for the utterance अनु हि अशिषत् पिता माम् भगव:. Almost all the major constituents of the utterance, significant structurally, are missing here. But प्रवहण, the listener, had no difficulty in understanding it in the intended meanings. The expression अनु , an उपसर्ग, though semantically goes with the verbal form, may be detached in छन्दस् literature and regarded as a distinct पद.

Panini is well aware of the phenomenon of ellipses. Students of his grammar, the अष्टाध्यायी, are all too familiar with the process of अनुवृत्ति, carrying over linguistic expressions from preceding statements to the following ones.

338

Panini take this process as granted, a normal feature of discourse. He does not have to formulate any rules of interpretation for elliptical statements. Missing elements in a rule of अष्टाध्यायी are supplied effortlessly in the context.

Further in certain contexts expressions thus read in the following statements may have to be modified grammatically to fit into the syntax of the new statements. Panini does not have to spell out any instructions to that effect. Readers are able to effect what is necessary syntactically.

In ordinary speech also elliptical constructions occur routinely. These do not impinge on linguistic structures. Panini, thus, has no structural statement in his grammar touching on any aspect of ellipsis. Native speakers and listeners take care of these as a matter of course. A speaker or listener, if called upon on same occasion to spell out elliptical utterances, is able to do that with no problems.

Interestingly enough the language lexicon has the verbal base उपस्कृ with unusual structure explained by Panini in (61136), meaning 'filling ellipses in an utterance, वाक्याध्याहर'. For instance, activity of a student who reads a text by supplying all ellipses may be described as- अयम् माणवक: आख्य नम् उपस्करोति or आख्यानम् उपस्कृतम् पठति   "This student reads the story by filling all elliptical expressions".

Panini notices that ellipsis has no impact on linguistic structure. It is thus of little interest to him. No aspect of ellipsis finds mention is his grammar.

Interrelationship among these constructions

The constructions कृत् , तद्धित, समास, एकशेष and स्त्री describe formation of nominal bases of one set or the other and सनादि verbal bases of various types. Of these तद्धित, समास and एकशेष and partially कृत् and सनादि are derived from underlying syntactic constructions.

Nominal and verbal bases, roots and derivatives, co-occurring in syntactic constructions contract various कारक and non-कारक syntactic relations which are manifested by nominal and verbal inflections and certain कृत् affixes.

Thus syntactic and non-syntactic constructions are mutually dependent. Formation of derivative nominal and verbal bases presuppose syntactic constructions and syntactic constructions in turn assume prior existence of nominal and verbal bases including derivatives.

ॐ Chapter 10

Conclusion

I

Tradition of the study of अष्टाध्यायी - An evaluation

१भ पाणिनि - कौत्स

पाणिनि was a teacher. He taught अष्टाध्यायी, the grammatical text composed by him. पतञ्जलि observes: 'The आचार्य formulated grammatical statements with utmost care. महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्रम् प्रणयति स्म (भा. on वा. 7 on 111)'. Inspite of that we find that some of his statements are formulated alternatively. For instance, explicating the same linguistic phenomenon, he taught to some students as आकडाराद् एका संज्ञा 'up to the सूत्र कडार ा: (2238) out of two or more technical designations only one will be sustained'. To others he taught प्राक् कडारात् परम् कार्यम् 'up to the सूत्र कडारा: the latter grammatical operation is to apply', (2238) {उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्या: प्रतिपादिता: । केचिद् - आकडाराद् एका संज्ञा इति केचित् - प्राक् कडारात्   परं कार्यम् इति । (भाष्य. on वा. on 1411)}.

Why?

पाणिनि, it seems, had been a teacher over a long period of time. The काशिका speaks of his earlier and later students. {पूर्व पाणिनीया:, अपरपाणिनिया: (का. on 62104)}. He had, thus, ample

341

opportunities to discuss his grammatical formulations with his students. As a result of such discussions he might have come to reformulate some of his earlier statements.

Most probably पाणिनि wrote a commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी. To पतञ्जलि the अष्टाध्यायी is known as वृत्तिसूत्र also i.e. 'a text composed in सूत्रs furnished with commentary'. (भाष्य. on वा. 23 on 211 and on वा. 18 on 222). युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक adduces additional evidence to show that पाणिनि <u>did</u> write a commentary on the अष्टाध्यायी. (See his History of Sanskrit Grammar (Hindi) Vol. 1, Chapter 14; pp. 436-39).

We assume that study of अष्टाध्यायी, facilitated by his commentary, must have been carried on by successive generations of his students. Unfortunately his commentary has not survived. Nor do we have any historical evidence to show that a tradition of its study was established by his students. All that we are left with today is the name of one of his resident students, कौत्स. The महाभाष्य vouches for us that कौत्स sat at the feet of पाणिनि. {उपसेदिवान् कौत्स: पाणिनिम् (भाष्य. on वा. 2 on 32108)}. The काशिका also carries over this tradition. {उपसे दिवान् कौत्स: पाणिनिम् । उपशुश्रुवान् कौत्स: पाणिनिम् ॥ (का. on 32108)}.

To pay homage to पाणिनि and first generation of his students, torch-bearers of अष्टाध्यायी studies, I dedicate this treatise to कौत्स.

२भ कात्यायन - पतञ्जलि

The earliest extent comments on अष्टाध्यायी are preserved in the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि, which discusses 1689 of the total 3995 सूत्रs of अष्टाध्यायी including 14 प्रत्याहार सूत्रs. It contains comments of कात्यायन in the form of 4200 वार्तिकs on 1228 सूत्रs and also

comments of other scholars on 26 other सूत्रs. (अग्निहोत्री pp28 and 33).

Studies mentioned in the महाभाष्य during the period from 350 BC and 200 BC <u>do</u> show that there was wide interest in the study of अष्टाध्यायी. It is surprising, however, that these studies do <u>not</u> show awareness of any earlier tradition. Thus whatever tradition of studies of अष्टाध्यायी is available today starts with कात्यायन and passes on to पतञ्जलि as embodied in the महाभाष्य.

In 11th C कैयट wrote a commentary called प्रदीप on the महाभाष्य. In turn it was commented upon in उद्योत by नागेश भट्ट.

3.   काशिका and भट्टोजि दीक्षित

The tradition emerges in काशिका, 7th C and in its commentators जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि , 8th C and हरदत्त मिश्र, 12th C. Their commentaries are called respectively न्यास and पदमञ्जरी.

The tradition reappears again in the 17th c in the works of भट्टोजि दीक्षित and his commentators, वासुदेव दीक्षित and ज्ञानेन्द्र सरस्वती.

Coherence in the tradition

To get an idea how coherent and consistent this tradition is we may review comments of various scholars belonging to different periods of time on one of the structural statements of the अष्टाध्यायी, namely आख्यातोपयोगे (1429).

The statement is read under कारके (1423) in the section of अष्टाध्यायी dealing with कारकs.

Reading कारके and अपादानम् from preceding statements the full text of the सूत्र is realized as follows.

कारके आख्यातोपयोगे अपादानम्.

(i.)   **कात्यायन's comments**

As reported in the महाभाष्य कात्यायन's comments on it are available in the following two वार्तिकs.

आख्यातोपयोगे कारकम् इति चेद् , अकथितत्वात् कर्मसंज्ञाप्रसङ्ग: (1).
अकारकम् इति चेद् , उपयोगवचनानर्थक्यम् (2).

Obviously in these वार्तिकs कात्यायन is <u>not</u> commenting on what is being asserted by पाणिनि in the statement under discussion. Rather he seems to have in his mind a situation where आख्यात् may co-occur with a verbal base whose action does <u>not</u> denote उपयोग.

What are such constructions?

In his exposition of the सूत्र, पतञ्जलि adduces the examples नटस्य शृणोति 'He listens to the actor', ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति 'He listens to the story-teller'.

If such are the utterances which कात्यायन would have in his mind then we could say that according to him both नट and ग्रन्थक denote आख्यात् 'narrator' in the general sense of the word; but the verbal base शृ does <u>not</u> denote उपयोग.

कात्ययन's वार्तिकs are addressed to grapple with this situation.

In these utterances the nominal bases नट and ग्रन्थिक either hold or do not hold कारक relation with शृ. If they do, कात्यायन maintains, that has to be कर्मन् rather than any other कारक

344

since it is अकथित 'not covered by any other कारक designation'. Provisions of (1451) apply here.

This is the position that has been explained in वार्तिक (I) given above. It may be rendered as follows.

> "If nominal bases denoted by आख्यातु in construction with verbal bases whose actions do not denote उपयोग, express any कारक , it receives the designation कर्मन् as it becomes अकथित 'not covered by any other कारक designation'. कात्यायन stops here. He has said what he wanted to say.

But पतञ्जलि pursues the issue further. He points out that only such nominal bases are considered अकथित which are in construction with verbal bases that are enumerated in a श्लोक वार्तिक quoted by him on (1451). Thus कात्यायन's contention is <u>not</u> valid as   श्रु is not the verbal base that is included in that list.

Coming after कात्यायन, पतञ्जलि is in a position to refer to it, since he is familiar with the श्लोक वार्तिक. Obviously the श्लोक वार्तिक was <u>not</u> there in कात्यायन's times.

In the second वार्तिक कात्यायन asserts that if a nominal base in construction with a verbal base, not denoting उपयोग, does <u>not</u> hold कारक relation, then the mention of उपयोग in the statement, serves no purpose. It is implied that syntactic relation between नट or ग्रन्थिक and श्रु in the utterances cited above, will be that of शेष. (2350).

The वार्तिक may be interpreted as under.

345

"If nominal bases denoted by आख्यातृ in construction with verbal bases whose actions do not denote उपयोग express non-कारक relations, then mention of the expression उपयोग in the statement does not serve any purpose."

However, we fail to understand what motivates कात्यायन to go out of the way to scrutinize syntactic relationships between nominal bases denoting आख्यातृ and verbal bases that do <u>not</u> denote उपयोग, instead of making any observations on relationships between such nominal bases and verbal bases that <u>denote</u> उपयोग. That is what पाणिनि talks about in the statement.

(ii.)   पतञ्जलि

To grasp the importance of the structural statement as intended by पाणिनि it is necessary to understand unambiguously the meanings of the expressions आख्यातृ and उपयोग. The expression आख्यातृ may be regarded as transparent semantically in its derivation. It may thus mean 'one who communicates, narrates'. Thus पतञ्जलि proceeds to determine the meanings of उपयोग.

In the examples नटस्य शृणोति, ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति, cited above, नट and ग्रन्थिक may denote आख्यातृ . What about श्रु 'listen' ? Does action denoted by it be considered to stand for उपयोग? Yes and no. If उपयोग is interpreted literally in the sense of व्यापार, 'an activity' (उपयुज्यते फलाय इति -कैयट), then listening to the actor or story-teller may be regarded as denoting उपयोग, a useful activity for those who go to listen to them. And for that matter, then, action denoted by any verbal base has to

346

be considered उपयोग.   Why a special mention of the expression उपयोग by पाणिनि in the structural statement here? पाणिनि intends to refer only to such actions as उपयोग which are of higher quality (प्रकर्षगति). पतञ्जलि, thus, concludes that action denoted by verbal bases which signify study in a disciplined and regular manner is उपयोग. This is the meaning of उपयोग that is meant here.   Students are called उपयुक्त when they have studied in a disciplined way.

The structural statement, thus, in the light of the above discussion may be interpreted according to पतञ्जलि as follows.

> "Being कारक, nominal bases denoting आख्यातृ, 'teacher', in construction with verbal bases implying regular disciplined teaching, denote अपादन".

This interpretation of पतञ्जलि is in total consonance with पाणिनि's intentions. However, he goes a little further. He regards the statement as redundant. He collapses it with (1424) and thus discards it. We shall discuss in a moment how he argues to achieve this end.

A little digression is in order here.

There are <u>eight</u> statements in the अष्टाध्यायी that describe अपादन relation (1424-31). Each statement describes a set of pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases. Nominal bases here designate कारक relation. Each set is <u>unique</u> and so is the set under discussion. Question of overlapping does not arise.

In the statement under discussion पाणिनि intends to describe that 'being कारक nominal bases denoting आख्यातृ 'one who communicates, a teacher', in construction with verbal bases

meaning उपयोग 'studying in a regulated manner', expresses अपादन relation'. In the utterance उपाध्यायाद् अधीते माणवक: 'The student studies regularly from his teacher', for instance, the nominal base उपाध्याय denotes अपादन.

पतञ्जलि, on the other hand, believes that the core feature of all verbal bases that pair with nominal bases in these eight sets denoting अपादान relation is अपाय, 'moving away'. And all nominal bases play the role of ध्रुव, 'a fixed reference point' vis-à-vis 'verbal action'. Thus according to him the statement ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् (कारके) (1424) is adequate enough to account for ascription of अपादन designation to all nominal bases co-occurring with verbal bases described in these <u>eight</u> statements. He considers all other statements as simply manifestation of (1424), fit to be rejected finally.

To demonstrate that the statement आख्यातोपयोगे (1429) can be understood in terms of ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् (1424), पतञ्जलि argues as follows.

Teaching consisting of spoken words, sounds, moves away from the teacher. To meet the objection why it does not move away all at once (as a leaf falling from the tree does) he says that being a continuous activity teaching does not move away once for all. (Even in case of a falling leaf one may reason that to reach the ground it passes through an indefinite number of space tracks, particles. Its falling is gradual, i.e. continuous.) Thus both falling of a leaf from a tree and issuing forth of words (sounds) from the mouth of a teacher in the course of teaching involve apparently the same process of continuity. पतञ्जलि has not to be apologetic about it. Anyway let us follow his reasoning.

Or alternately, he argues, teaching consisting of communicating information follows the pattern of light which though consisting of numerous disparate flames leaves the impression of being a continuous activity. (अयम् अपि योग: शक्यो अ वक्तुम् । कथम् उपाध्यायद् अधीते इति । अपक्रामति तस्माद् अध्ययनम् । यद्यपक्रामति किं नात्यन्तायापक्रामति? संततत्वात् । आथवा, ज्योतिर्विड्ज्ञानानि भवन्ति (भाष्य. on 1429).

पतञ्जलि stops at that. He feels he has made his point. Regular teaching, उपयोग, does <u>not</u> differ in its essentials from the act of moving away, अपाय, and the teacher, आख्यात् , from the fixed point, ध्रुव . No separate structural statement is, thus, called for to establish अपादन relation of उपाध्याय, the आख्य तु co-occurring with अधि-इ denoting उपयोग.

To recapitulate

The statements (1423-55) make one block of related statements. These follow formally an identical pattern of formulation. All of these describe sets of pairs of nominal and verbal bases enjoying freedom of co-occurrence in syntactic constructions. Nominal bases in all sets denote syntactic relationships called कारक as distinguished from that of non-कारक. Nominal bases in sets, one or more, subsumed under one group, denote the same कारक type. It will be clear from the discussion that follows.

In his analysis of linguistic data, we presume, पाणिनि sorts out, in the first step, pairs of co-occurring nominal and verbal bases into <u>two</u> classes on the basis of nature of syntactic relationship between them. If things, entities denoted by nominal bases 'help' actualize action denoted by verbal bases co-occurring with them, these are subsumed under one

349

group. Syntactic relationship between them is called कारक.
All other pairs are put under another group and syntactic
relationship is called simply non-कारक.

Next, mass of pairs denoting कारक relationship are divided
into <u>six</u> groups on the formal basis of विभक्ति, excepting the
6th, occurring after nominal bases. Each group denotes a
distinct कारक type.

Finally he proceeds to sort out pairs in each group into one
or more sets on the basis of their freedom of co-occurrence.
The statements (1424-55) describe such sets for each कारक
type.

One such group consists of <u>eight</u> sets described in (1424-
31). Each set declares that nominal bases identified in
terms of pragmatic roles played by entities denoted by
them vis-à-vis actions denoted by verbal bases co-occurring
with them characterized in terms of shared semantic
features, denote अपादान.

For instance, in the set described in कारक ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम्
(1424), nominal bases which denote कारक relation (as
opposed to non-कारक) are identified by pragmatic feature ध्रु
व, 'fixed point of reference' vis-à-vis activity of verbal
bases co-occurring with them characterized by the common
semantic feature अपाय 'moving away', denote अपादान.

पाणिनि, thus, recognizes <u>eight</u> pairs of such pragmatic and
semantic features that characterize <u>eight</u> sets of co-
occurring pairs where nominal bases being कारक denote अपाद
न.

पतञ्जलि, on the other hand, does <u>not</u> recognize <u>eight</u> sets of co-occurring pairs of pragmatic and semantic features that mark correspondingly <u>eight</u> sets of nominal and verbal bases. He collapses all these into one. His attempt to explain away pragmatic and semantic features characterizing these sets in पाणिनि as simple manifestations of the features ध्रुव and अपाय is <u>unrealistic</u> linguistically. And he has not been able to show any abstraction at higher level theoretically.

Obviously पतञ्जलि is not interpreting पाणिनि's statement as having been received in any sort of tradition. It is on the basis of analysis of distinct sets of linguistic data that पाणिनि comes to formulate <u>eight</u> structural statements. Chances of overlapping are none. Each statement is intended to explicate exclusively distinct linguistic data. There is no mix-up there. पतञ्जलि on the other hand, wraps up all the eight statements into <u>one,</u> <u>seven</u> of these for him are just <u>not</u> needed. Linguistic facts, both for पाणिनि and पतञ्जलि are the same. पतञ्जलि does <u>not</u> contest that. The two differ in the way they account for them. पतञ्जलि is obviously guided in his approach by non-linguistic considerations viz. logical and philosophical argumentations rather than by facts obtained from linguistic data involved. He is attempting to force roles of entities so diverse as denoted by nominal bases such as वृक्ष वृक अध्ययन सस्य उपाध्याय आख्यातृ गोमय हिमालय etc. into that of ध्रुव vis-à-vis such diverse actions as denoted by verbal bases as पत् भी त्रा पराजि नि-वृत् अन्तर्-धा उपयुज् जन् प्रभू etc. fit into the semantic feature अपाय.

पतञ्जलि, in fact, is <u>not</u> interpreting पाणिनि's statements. He is rather <u>reassessing</u> linguistic data from non-linguistic standpoint.

(iii.) कैयट

It will be interesting to study how outlook of पतञ्जलि was received and developed in the tradition of interpretation of अष्टाध्यायी that came into being in the wake of the महाभाष्य.

कैयट, 11th C, in his commentary, named प्रदीप, on the महाभाष्य explains in detail the above observations of पतञ्जलि.

Commenting on संततत्वात् he remarks as follows.

  'The meaning is this. Sounds manifest speech. These originate from the teacher. As produced by him these are different each time. However, being similar these are regarded in essence the same. Over again and again impinging on the region of the ear of the hearer, these manifest speech either as व्यक्ति स्फोट or जाति स्फोट i.e. unique or universal sound unit'. (संततत्वाद् इति । शब्दस्य व्यञ्जका उपाध्यायेनोत्पाद्य माना भिन्ना अपि सादृश्यात् तत्त्वेनाध्यवसीयमाना: श्रोतु: पुन: पुन: श्रोत्रप्रदेशं गच्छन्तो ० यक्तिस्फोटरूपं जातिस्फोटरूपं वा शब्दम् अभिव्यञ्जयन्तीत्यर्थ:).

Commenting further on अथवा ज्योतिवज् ज्ञानानि भवान्ति, कैयट continues as under.

 'A light in the form of a flame appears as if it is produced without any break (although actually it is made of multiple flames produced at numerous successive moments of time). Because of each flame being similar and assessed in reality as identical, it gives the impression of being a continuous activity. In a similar manner we speak of different pieces of information coming from a teacher assuming forms of

corresponding different words as giving an impression of a continuous chain'. (अथवेति - यथा ज्वालारूपं ज्योतिर् अविच्छेदेनोत्पद्यमानं स ादृश्यात् तत्त्वेनाध्यवसीयमानं सततम् , तथैवोपाध्यायज्ञानानि भिन्नानि भिन्नशब्दरूप ताम् आपद्यमानानि संततान्युच्यन्ते).

Concluding he says that 'in this context <u>the view</u> of the author of the महाभाष्य is that information assumes the form of speech'. (ज्ञानस्य शब्दरूपापत्तिर् इति दर्शनम् अत्र महाभाष्यकारस्य).

In support of his observations कैयट cites a verse (from भर्तृहरि) saying - 'So it is said' —

> वायोर् अणूनां ज्ञानस्य शब्दत्वापात्तिर् इष्यते ।
> कैश्चिद्, दर्शनभेदो हि प्रवादेष्वनवस्थित: ।
> "Some hold that air particles (and) knowledge are transformed into speech. But differences of view regarding (these) doctrines is far from solved." (As translated by S. D. Joshi and Roodbergen in पतञ्जलि's व्याकरण महाभाष्य कारकाह्निक, University of Poona, 1975)

_विभच   नागेश भट्ट

नागेश भट्ट, 17th C., wrote a commentary, named उद्योत, on कैयट's commentary. He endorses what is said by कैयट and cites a few more verses from भर्तृहरि to show how knowledge, information assumes form of speech. We need not discuss these here.

To sum up

We have reviewed here comments of <u>four</u> scholars of different generations spanning over a period of time, more than two millennia from 350 BC to 17th C. कात्यायन does <u>not</u> make any direct comments on the statement under

discussion. He seems to accept it as it is received. पतञ्जलि's interpretation is well-grounded and substantial. However, to reject it on the plea that it can be explicated in terms of ध्रुव and अपाय (1424) is not justified on structural grounds as pointed out above. His treatment of उपाध्याय (आख्यातृ) as ध्रुव, fixed point from which act of teaching issues forth is an argument based on false analogy. It is also equally misleading to compare act of teaching alternately with appearance (emergence) of light. कैयट and नागेश take their cue from पतञ्जलि and straight away relate it to स्फोट theory of language of भर्तृहरि, 5th C.

One thing is clear. No tradition was there for them to follow to interpret statements of अष्टाध्यायी as basically explications of linguistic structures as these must have been taught by पाणिनि to his students कौत्स and others. Each generation has no compunction to take into consideration any contemporaneously current developments in grammar or related disciplines to interpret अष्टाध्यायी. Such an approach to the study of an old text is simply unwarranted. Here कैयट and नागेश offer their exposition nonchalantly as if पाणिनि's statement was formulated in anticipation of भर्तृहरि's theory of language in the 5th C.

(v.)　　काशिका, न्यास **and** पदमञ्जरी

We shall like to refer here to the comments of काशिका, another link in the tradition, on the statement under discussion and also those of न्यास and पदमञ्जरी, the two commentaries on it.

The काशिका recognizes it as one of the eight statements describing अपादन कारक. It does <u>not</u> follow the महाभाष्य to reject

354

it. The expression उपयोग is interpreted to signify acquiring knowledge by regular study. The न्यास is in complete agreement with the काशिका. The पदमञ्जरी, on the other hand, summarizes the views of कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि and considers the statement as mere repetition (प्रपञ्च) of what has been said in (1424). But interestingly it concludes by observing that assignment of अपादान or कर्मन् to आख्यातृ depends on what the author of the सूत्र i.e. पाणिनि desires to express. Although नट in नटस्य शृणोति undoubtedly denotes अवधि "limit" thus, अपादान, yet it is desired to express शेष instead and thus admits 6th विभक्ति (2350). As also in न माषाणाम् अश्नीयात् 'One should not eat beans', माष does hold कर्मन् relation. This is true. But the relation expressed here is शेष . Here also पाणिनि exercises his option to say what he desires to say. In case of उपयोग it is अपादान that is desired to be expressed and elsewhere it is शेष, (नन नटस्य सत्यप्यवधित्वं शेषरूपेण विवक्षणात् षष्ठी भविष्यति, यथा न माषाणाम् अश्नीयाद् इति वस्तुतः कर्मत्वं माषाणाम् , सत्यम् स एव विवक्षानियमः सूत्रकारेण प्रदर्शते - उपयोगे अवधित्वं विवक्षितम् , अन्यत्र शेषत्वम् इति).

The पदमञ्जरी fails to recognize that पाणिनि has no option to exercise his विवक्षा (desire to express one thing in preference to another). He goes by linguistic data. Nominal bases denoting आख्यातृ in construction with verbal bases expressing the sense of उपयोग i.e. studying regularly, denote अपादान. The usages in real language are testimony on which पाणिनि's statement is based and <u>not</u> arbitrariness of exercise of his विवक्षा. Since श्रु 'listen' does <u>not</u> express this meaning, the nominal bases नट etc. in construction with it do not denote अपादान even though these may express the sense of आख्यातृ in

355

general. These express necessarily the syntactic relationship of शेष (2350).

(vi.)   भट्टोजि दीक्षित, तत्त्वबोधिनी **and** बालमनोरमा

We may refer to the interpretations of another set of grammarians of 17th-18th centuries.

भट्टोजि दीक्षित, 17th C., interprets उपयोग as acquisition of knowledge in a regular manner and आख्यातृ as teacher. Thus उपाध्याय in उपाध्यायद् अधीते receives अपादान designation.

His commentators ज्ञानेन्द्र सरस्वती, 17th C. in तत्त्वबोधिनी and वासुदेव दीक्षित in बालमनोरमा simply paraphrase him. वासुदेव दीक्षित, however, alludes to rejection of the statement by the महाभाष्य on the grounds that one acquires knowledge that issues forth from the teacher. (भाष्ये तु उपाध्यायान निर्गतं वेदं गृह्णाति इति अर्थम् आश्रित्य प्रख्यातम् इदम्).

Obviously भट्टोजि दीक्षित and his commentators recognize the statement as an explication of a distinct set of linguistic facts and put an interpretation on it thus accordingly.

To conclude:

The अष्टाध्यायी came to be recognized as the grammar at a very early period to be studied in various schools all over the region where Vedic literature was studied and recited and भाषा was spoken. Teacher- grammarians of each generation, it appears, were not fully satisfied with commentaries studied by them in the days of their studentship and attempted to write an ultimate one. Hence proliferation of commentatorial literature on it. Each generation would update exposition of अष्टाध्यायी by

incorporating contemporaneous developments in grammar and other related fields. Of this vast commentatorial literature whatever survives today does <u>not</u> speak of an unbroken, sustained and coherent tradition of its study. To call such studies a tradition of study of अष्टाध्यायी is hardly true. पाणिनि's intentions embodied in the सूत्र and spirit of his original exposition of these are hardly reflected in the pages of this vast commentatorial literature.

II

अष्टाध्यायी and शिष्टs : Historical perspective

The अष्टाध्यायी describes <u>two</u> varieties of speech, namely छान्दस and भाषा . What is called छान्दस is the language of various genera of Vedic texts which were studied and recited in his times as well as earlier in various schools of Vedic studies.

The variety called भाषा was medium of communication and literature.

Linguistic activities were at their peak during पाणिनि's times. A number of grammars were there before his times. पाणिनि cites <u>ten</u> grammarians in the अष्टाध्यायी by name and refers to some more in such general terms as आचार्य 'teacher' and एक 'some'. Grammarians are referred to as belonging to the 'east' प्राच्य and 'west' उदीच्य.

युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक traces <u>16</u> more names of grammarians who preceded him. On the basis of whatever information that could be gathered from quotations from these grammars in literature, he makes some general observations with regard to their format, scope and interrelationships. All favor सूत्र style, treat both spoken and Vedic varieties and exclude

treatment of phonetics. [History of Sanskrit Grammar (Hindi), Vol. I, Chapters 3-4].

Linguistic studies originating in प्रातिशाख्यs, microscopic in scope, developed into writing full-fledged grammars by पाणिनि's times.

It is commonplace that languages change variously in their structure and scope of use over a period of time. And we do learn from कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि that use of spoken variety called भाषा by पाणिनि came to be confined to a small community of शिष्टs 'elite', perhaps exclusively consisting of priestly class of Brahmins, scattered over the land of आर्यवर्त in small pockets. Such a spoken speech had lost its elan vital and ceased to grow. It was practically moribund lacking breath and pulsation of a living organism.

कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि recognize existence of <u>three</u> speech varieties in their times. Two of these are designated by पतञ्जलि as वैदिक and लौकिक. The grammar is to deal with expressions (शब्द) of these two varieties only. The <u>third</u> variety is treated as corrupted form of लौकिक .

पतञ्जलि observes that for each single correct item there are many corrupt forms. For instance, for the correct expression गो 'a cow', the corrupt forms are गावी, गोणा, गोता, गोपोतलिका and many of this sort are the corrupt expressions. (एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवो अपभ्रंशाः तद् यथा गौर् इत्यस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिका इत्येवम् आदयो अपभ्रंशाः । (भाष्य. पस्पशा on वा. 6)

पतञ्जलि's real problem obviously was that he would <u>not</u> recognize that गौः, अश्वः पुरुषः etc., on the one hand, and गावी, गोणी गोता etc. on the other, belong to <u>two</u> different speech

varieties, though enjoying mutual intelligibility to a great extent but differing in structure visibly. He regards the two as different aspects of <u>the same</u> variety, the लौकिक one correct, साधु and the other incorrect, अपभ्रंश, अपशब्द.

It is true that both correct, शब्द and corrupt, अपशब्द expressions are capable of getting across a message, अर्थ. But speech is used not simply for purposes of communication, it is a means of acquiring virtue, धर्म also. For the sake of earning virtue a ruling is laid down that message is to be conveyed by correct speech only and <u>not</u> by corrupt one. Practiced in this manner it leads to good results, prosperity. ("समानायाम् अर्थगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन च धर्मनियम: क्रियते -शब्देनैवार्थो अभिधेयो नापशब्देन इति । एवम् क्रियमाणम् अभ्युदयकारि भवति" भाष्य. पस्पशा on वा. 1).

However, by and large people communicated in corrupt speech, अपभ्रंश which they acquired natively from their childhood. Now the problem was how to persuade them to switch over to the use of correct speech (शब्द). For this purpose पतञ्जलि recommended study of grammar. He advanced very many reasons why grammar be studied.

What Grammar?

कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि seem to assume that language-wise the same scenario obtains in their respective times as it does in पाणिनि's. Description of भाषा in the अष्टाध्यायी is good enough a description of speech current in their respective times. Thus it is the study of the अष्टाध्यायी that is recommended by both of them.

This assumption for all practical purposes may be regarded as true in the sense that after पाणिनि and before कात्यायन use

359

of भाषा, the spoken speech, is confined to the priestly class of ब्राह्मणs. People in general spoke regional varieties. Buddha delivered his sermons in पाली, a local speech. Ashoka had his edicts drafted in regional varieties. Thus use of भाषा or लौकिक as designated by पतञ्जलि was the speech of a very small segment of population of those times. It is not an outrage to believe that those holy ब्राह्मणs did use local dialects in communication with common people.

In such circumstances, it must have been clear to पतञ्जलि that no Herculean efforts could succeed in making study of अष्टाध्यायी a mass movement. Thus these must-study-grammar pleas were targeted at priestly community only.

पतञ्जलि, for instance, must have felt uneasy and pained to find that a ब्राह्मण youth was incapable of effecting necessary adjustments with regard to gender and विभक्ति in a पद in Vedic verses as demanded in the context of performance of rituals unless he had studied grammar. Thus he makes a plea for study of grammar. (न सर्वैर् लिङ्गैर न सर्वाभिर् विभक्तिभिर् वेद मन्त्रा: निगदिता: ते चावश्यं यज्ञगतेन यथायथं विपरिणमयितव्या: तान् नावैय्याकरण: शक्रोति यथायथं विपरिणमयितुम् तस्माद् अध्येयम् व्याकरणम् . भाष्य. पस्पशा).

A flawless pronunciation of speech was regarded as a desideratum. पतञ्जलि insists that a ब्राह्मण must study grammar to escape from speaking incorrectly, barbarously. (तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै । म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यद् अपशब्द:। म्लेच्छा मा भूम इति अध्येयम् व्याकरणम्) (भाष्य. पस्पशा)

The traditional story of the sages called यर्वाण and तर्वाण alluded to by पतञ्जलि illustrates how hard it is to overcome habits of speech acquired natively in childhood. Instead of

यद् वा नः 'what is ours' and तद् वा नः 'that is ours', they would pronounce "यर्वाणः" and "तर्वाणः" corresponding expressions in some local dialect which these sages spoke natively. However, they were all watchful not to mispronounce anything during performance of sacrificial activities. (एवम् हि श्रूयते यर्वाणस् तर्वाणो नामर्षयो बभूवुः ---। ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस् तद्वान इति प्रयोक्ऊ ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते । याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते . भाष्य. पस्पशा on वा. 9)

These sages must have lived much before पतञ्जलि as indicated by use of the expression एवम् हि श्रूयते and the form of लिट् in बभूवुः in narrating the event here.

The शिष्टs and their speech habits

It is interesting to discover in the midst of crowds using naturally corrupt speech, a small community of शिष्टs speaking flawlessly, by birth the लौकिक variety. पतञ्जलि presents an eloquent and picturesque description of these privileged speakers. He writes that there resides in आर्यवर्त, 'the abode of Aryas', a community of ब्राह्मण, who are well-versed in one or the other branch of knowledge for nothing i.e. knowledge acquired intuitively without ever having received any instructions from a teacher. These respectful ब्राह्मण are called शिष्ट, elite. They are super-most authority on language. Their speech happily conforms to patterns explained in the अष्टाध्यायी. In a way the अष्टाध्यायी does not concern them. For students of अष्टाध्यायी it may serve as a touch-stone to identify such शिष्टs. One may exclaim; 'He must be a शिष्ट who speaks like one who has studied it'. It must be because of either divine grace or his innate nature

that he employs correct expressions, शब्द, that are described therein. He must be cognizant of even those usages that are not explained in the अष्टाध्यायी- (एतस्मिन्नार्यनिवासे ये ब्राह्मणा: --- किञ्चिद् अन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्याया: पारगास् तत्रभवन्त: शिष्टा: --- अष्टाध्यायीम् अधीयानो अन्यं पश्यत्यनधीयानं ये अत्र विहिता: शब्दास् तान् प्रयुञ्जमानम् । स पश्यति - नूनम् अस्य दैवानुग्रह: स्वभावो वा यो अयं न चाष्टाध्यायीम अधीते ये चात्र विहिता: शब्दास् तान् प्रयुङ्क्ते अयं नूनम् अन्यान् अपि जानाति । एवम् एषा शिष्टज्ञानार्थ अष्टाध्यायी'. भाष्य. on 63109).

पतञ्जलि sees in the speech of the शिष्ठ a panacea for all ills of corrupt speech. They are model speakers of लौकिक variety. Their speech habits have to be acquired. Their usages have to be copied. To acquire and maintain purity of speech, thus, पतञ्जलि puts his faith completely in following the usages of the शिष्ठs. Consider in this context, for instance, his observations on वा. 12-13 on 131.

In these वार्तिकs कात्यायन is commenting on पाणिनि's statement भूवाद् यो धातव: (131) where पाणिनि refers to verbal bases भू and such others as listed in धातुपाठ.

कात्यायन justifies this enumeration for two reasons as explained in his वार्तिकs. In वार्तिक (12) he states that this enumeration serves the purpose of excluding nominal stems (such as पाक 'cooking' denoting verbal action) and verbal bases exhibited in such forms as आणपयति (a verbal form of some dialect) etc. In (13) he observes that listing supplies information with regard to placement of pitch, स्वर and अनुबन्ध, diacritics (as displayed in धातुपाठ variously) (भूवादिपाठ: प्रातिपदि काणपयत्यादि निवृत्त्यर्थ: (12) स्वरानुबन्धज्ञापनाय च (13).

पतञ्जलि, however, does <u>not</u> feel any necessity of such listing. His insistence is rather on following the usages of the शिष्टs more religiously. Such items will be excluded automatically since शिष्टs do not use them in their speech. Further, close adherence to the speech of the शिष्टs would not allow any mix-up of items common people use in their speech with those that are desired to be listed. For instance, in common parlance कस is used for कृष् and दिस for दृश् . The शिष्ट s_use only कृष् and दृश् , the correct forms. Implication is that if we strictly keep close to the speech of the शिष्टs, such items as कस् , etc. will find no chance to enter our speech. ('शिष्टप्रयोगाद् आणप यत्यादीनां निवृत्तिर् भविष्यति <u>स चावश्यं शिष्टप्रयोग उपास्यो</u> ये अपि पठ्यन्ते तेषाम् अपि विपर्यास निवृत्त्यर्थ: । लोके हि कृष्यर्थे कसिं प्रयुञ्जते, दृश्यर्थे च दिशिम्'.   भाष्य. on वा. 12-13 on 131).

It may be pointed out that in enumerating भू etc. , verbal bases of छान्दस and भाषा, पाणिनि is <u>not</u> motivated by any such considerations. He listed these as he needed such a list for writing his structural description of these two varieties. There was <u>no</u> third variety that competed with भाषा. He had thus no fears that भू etc. would get mixed up with verbal stems of that variety.

Even in the closed circle of the शिष्टs there developed idioms and usages that were peculiar to their speech. However, such usages enjoyed overriding authority over what expressions अष्टाध्यायी would produce. Here is an intriguing anecdote between a grammarian and a charioteer (representing the शिष्टs) to establish superiority of usage prevalent among शिष्टs over what is approved by अष्टाध्यायी.

In the statement अजेर् व्यघञपो: (2456) पाणिनि describes that the element वी is substituted in place of अज् 'drive, go' before an आर्धधातुक suffix except घञ् (3316) and अप् (3357). Thus the only form derived from प्र अज् by introducing the affix तृच् (31133) denoting कर्तृ is प्रवेतृ 'a driver'. Here अज् is replaced by वी.

However, पतञ्जलि contests that the form <u>desired</u> here is प्राजितृ rather than प्रवेतृ . Such a form can be obtained if अज् is <u>not</u> substituted by वी. पाणिनि's statement does not provide that. He is very categorical with regard to substitution of अज् by वी in these environments.

We reproduce the dialogue referred to above here.

Some grammarian said thus - who is the प्रवेतृ (driver) of this chariot?

Charioteer said:	Sir ! I am the प्राजितृ (driver of this chariot).
Grammarian said:	It (प्राजितृ) is an incorrect expression.
Charioteer said:	Your good-self is conversant with (the form) that can be derived from rules. You don't know what (form) is the desired one. This form (i.e. प्राजितृ) is the desired one.
Grammarian said:	Oh! I am indeed worsted by this stupid charioteer (दुरूतेन).
Charioteer said:	The expression सूत is in no case made from the verbal base वेञ् 'weave'. The expression सूत is made from सू 'urge' only. If you have to express your aversion to the action denoted by सू ,

you shall have to say दुःसूतेन, by a bad सूत (charioteer).

"एवं हि कश्चिद् वैय्याकरण आह को अस्य रथस्य प्रवेता इति ।

सूत आह -	आयुष्मन्नहं प्राजिता इति ।
वैय्याकरण आह -	अपशब्द इति ।
सूत आह -	प्राज्ञो देवानां प्रियो न त्विष्टिज्ञ इष्यते एतद् रूपम् इति ।
वैय्याकरण आह -	आहो! खल्वनेन दुरुतेन बाध्यामहे इति ।
सूत आह -	न खलु वेञः सूतः, सुवतेर् एव सूतो यदि सुवतेः कुत्सा प्रयोक्व्या
	दुःसूतेन इति वक्व्यम्" (भाष्य. on वा. 1. on 2456).

Two points relevant in the context emerge from the story. One, the authority of a grammar holds good for expressions produced from its rules that are in use when it was written. The form प्रवेतृ , though produced correctly by rules of अष्टाध्यायी, is not accepted by the charioteer for the simple reason it is <u>not</u> current during his times. On the other hand, the form प्राजितृ is accepted as correct, though not made according to the अष्टाध्यायी since it is the accepted usage at that time. A grammar is written for the given time and <u>not</u> for good.

The second point is analysis of the expression सूत into सु and उत by the grammarian and derivation of उत from वे 'weave' in the sense of 'a driver'; and accordingly his use of the expression दुरुत in the meaning of 'a bad charioteer'.

Obviously the grammarian is wrong at every step. He is rightly snubbed and corrected by the charioteer who knows better grammar and usage.

पतञ्जलि narrated this anecdote, as pointed out above, to show that usages of the शिष्ट have overriding authority over those produced by अष्टाध्यायी. He had not to do all this if he

had kept in mind that अष्टाध्यायी was written long before the शि ष्टs appear on the scene to account for linguistic expressions current in पाणिनि's times. It was not intended to explicate usage of the time of शिष्टs. We shall like to discuss पतञ्जलि's remarks प्रासिज्ञो देवानां प्रियो न त्विष्टिज्ञ in a historical perspective.

A structural statement in पाणिनि is formulated to explicate some structural aspect of a set of linguistic data. Following is the type of language data that underlies formulation of the statement अजेर् व्यघञपो: (आर्धधातुके) (2456) -प्रवेतृ प्रवायक वीत प्रवीत वे तव्य वयनीय विविष्णु विवाय विव्यतु: विव्यु:, वेता वेतारौ वेतार: etc.

Forms like समाज समज उदाज उदज etc. fall outside its scope and are thus treated as exceptions.

It may be pointed out that forms like अजति अजत: अजन्ति अजेत् अ जेताम् अजेयु: etc. were also excluded from its operation since affixes introduced after अज् to produce such forms belong to a different structural group called सार्वधातुक.

This was the linguistic situation in पाणिनि's times. प्रवेतृ was one of the derivative forms from प्र-अज् by substitution of वी in place of अज् before the आर्धधातुक affix तृच् (=तृ).

During कात्यायन's times, however, forms like प्राजितृ , अजितुम् प्राजन etc. were also found in use. To make room for their formation कात्यायन added a वार्तिक to पाणिनि's above statement to say that substitution of वी in place of अज् is optional before आर्धधातुक affixes beginning with speech sounds included in the वल् प्रत्याहार i.e. any consonant other than य् (वला दार्धधातुके विकल्प इष्यते -काशिका वा. on 2456).

It may be pointed out that the महाभाष्य does not mention this वा
र्तिक.

कात्यायन also noted that there was no वी substitution before
the affix क्यप् (3399). Thus सम्-अञ्-क्यप् -> समज्या 'an
assembly'. (The derivative is used in feminine and takes टाप्=
आ). Thus he states in another वार्तिक that the affix क्यप् may
also be included as an exception along with घञ् and अप् . (घ
ञपो: प्रतिषेधे क्यप उपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम्) (भाष्य. वा. on 2456).

However, both न्यास and पदमञ्जरी point out that this वार्तिक is <u>not</u>
needed. The derivative समज्या according to पाणिनि denotes संज्ञा
(3399). And to denote संज्ञा a fixed order of speech sounds
in the derivative has to be maintained. Any substitution will
violate that. Thus there is no substitution. (नियतवर्णानुपूर्विका च संज्ञा
 भवति, न चादेशे कृते संज्ञा गम्यते, तस्मात् संज्ञायाम् विधानात् क्यपि वीभावो न भवति
।) (न्यास on वा. 2456).

This was the linguistic situation with regard to substitution of
वी in place of अञ् in कात्यायन's times.

पतञ्जलि attests currency of all derivatives that were there in
use in कात्यायन's times. To accommodate क्यप् as exception as
desired by कात्यायन, पतञ्जलि thinks there is no need to make
this addition along with घञपो: He proposes to treat the
expression अप् in पाणिनि's statement as a प्रत्याहार, an
abbreviation, formed from अ of अप् (3357), and प् of क्यप्
(3398). Such a प्रत्याहार includes the affix किन् (3394) also. It is
not desired. We cannot form संवीति from सम् अञ् किन् . Thus he
drops this venture.

Next he proposes to recast पाणिनि's statement by dropping च ञपो: and reading वा from the immediately preceding statement वा लिटि (2455). The reformulated statement reads अजेर् वी वा. Here वा is assumed to denote व्यवस्थितविभाषा. This allows him to derive प्राजितृ also as an alternative to प्रवेतृ .

However, in his times प्राजितृ is the favored form as contested in the story referred to above. The derivative प्रवेतृ though recognized by him along with प्राजितृ is, however, treated as archaic by him; प्राजितृ being the favored form.

Viewed against this historical perspective we learn that in पाणिनि's times the item प्राजितृ was <u>not</u> part of the language lexicon. Only प्रवेतृ was in use. His structural statement is, thus, intended to account for its formation along with other forms.

On the other hand, in पतञ्जलि's times प्रवेतृ was inherited from the अष्टाध्यायी as an item formed correctly grammatically. It was not in use though. Instead a new item, namely प्राजितृ , not known to पाणिनि, was the current usage in the same meaning. Thus पाणिनि and पतञ्जलि stand at two ends with regard to the use of प्रवेतृ and प्राजितृ .

In कात्यायन's times both the expressions were in use. To derive प्राजितृ he supplements पाणिनि's rule with a वार्तिक as explained above.

From पाणिनि to शिष्टs is the story of a speech spoken over a large territory nearly by all sections of Aryan society at one time and then shrinking in its scope and usage as a speech of microscopic minority, the priestly ब्राह्मण of आर्यवर्त. And for its sustenance it was fed on study of पाणिनि's grammar, the अष्टाध्यायी. It had nonetheless developed some usages specific to

368

itself noticed by कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि and explicated in the backdrop of अष्टाध्यायी.   Otherwise its expressions conform largely to structures and patterns described by पाणिनि in अष्टाध्यायी.

<div align="center">III</div>

<div align="center">

Interpretation of अष्टाध्यायी

</div>

Background

By his observations that the शिष्टs, though untutored in the अष्टाध्यायी, either being endowed with divine grace or gifted with an inborn capability, could use the same expressions as explained therein and even knew more, पतञ्जलि creates an embarrassing situation for the students of अष्टाध्यायी. How are they going to react to such remarks of his; accept them in toto, reject these straight away or just ignore these?

Virtually accrediting the शिष्टs with extraordinary innate supernal linguistic skill amounts to conceding the fact that Sanskrit grammatical system was revealed divinely through these शिष्टs. And the शिष्टs, though residing in circumscribed territory of आर्यावर्त, are assumed to be well-acquainted (intuitively) with usages prevalent all over the globe, the various worlds and as found in the vast literature. Scope of language use as described by पतञ्जलि is so extensive. (महान् हि शब्दस्य प्रयोग-विषय: सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती त्रयो लोकाश् चत्वारो वेदा: साङ्गा: सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतम् अध्वर्युशाखा: सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाहृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदो वाको-वाक्यम् इतिहास: पुराणं वैद्यकम् इति एतावज् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषय:।) (भाष्य. पस्पशा. on वा. 5)

पतञ्जलि illustrates diversity of usage by pointing out that verbal stems शव् हम्म् and रह् all meaning 'go' were <u>not</u> current among the Aryas who used instead the verb गम् (cf. भाष्य. पस्पशा. on वा. 5)

The शिष्टs, however, are supposed to know all such usages. If we trust पतञ्जलि, the शिष्टs have to be credited with encyclopedic information with regard to morphological structures of numerous derivatives made from <u>unique</u> items listed in गणपाठ in the अष्टाध्यायी besides all other constructions as described therein.

पतञ्जलि tells us that expressions produced by अष्टाध्यायी conform to the speech of the शिष्टs. It obviously implies that <u>no</u> formal description of the speech of शिष्टs was ever attempted. And there is not the faintest of a hint in अष्टाध्यायी that it was based on the speech of the शिष्टs, a community of ब्राह्मणs, that lived in आर्यवर्त. पाणिनि's description of both छान्दस and भाषा, we assume, was rather based on an extensive scrutiny of the vast Vedic literature and comprehensive detailed field work all over the region where भाषा was prevalent.

By the times of कात्यायन the अष्टाध्यायी had established itself as the most profound and popular textbook to be studied in various schools. It seems to have eclipsed even the grammar of शाकटायन, a predecessor of पाणिनि. He was regarded as doyen of grammarians. About him the काशिका remarks that all other grammarians were inferior to him. (अनु शाकटायनम्/उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणा: -काशिका on 1486-87).

Soon after पाणिनि and much before कात्यायन, we have reasons to believe, the creative period of linguistic activities had come to a close. With use of spoken speech called लौकिक very much restricted, there was no more grammar writing. On the other hand, to facilitate study of grammatical texts for ब्राह्मण youths there sets in an era of वृत्तिs, commentaries, वार्तिकs, supplemental remarks on structural statements, भाष्य, expositions and महाभाष्य, comprehensive expositions.

Being a popular text the अष्टाध्यायी became focus of study and subject of commentatorial literature. As mentioned before पाणिनि himself is believed to have written a commentary on his work. There is reference to another वृत्ति called माथुरी, written by some Mathura.   (For additional information see Yudhisthira Mimansaka; Vol I, chapter 14).

The महाभाष्य refers to works of at least more than half a dozen grammarians who composed वार्तिकs on अष्टाध्यायी

(i) भारद्वाज : भाष्य. on वा. 1 on 1120; वा. 11 on 1156, वा. 3 on 1222; वा. 4 on 1367; वा. 1 on 3138; वा. 3 on 3148; वा. 1 on 3189, वा. 4 on 4179, वा. 1 on 6447.

(ii) सुनाग : भाष्य. on वा. 4 on 2218; वा. 1 on 3256; वा. 1 on 4174, भाष्य. on 4157 ; वा. 5 on 43155, भाष्य. on 6195, 6343

(iii) क्रोष्टा : भाष्य. on वा. 6 on 113

(iv) वाडव : भाष्य. on वा. 3 on 82106

(v) कुणर वाडव : भाष्य. on वा. 1451, वा. 3 on 731

(vi) गोनर्द : भाष्य. on वा 6 on 1121; भाष्य. on 1129, वा. on 3192; on वा. 72101

(vii) सौर्यभगवन् : भाष्य. on वा. 3 on 82106

(viii) कात्यायन : He composed numerous वार्तिक on which पतञ्जलि wrote his भाष्य.

Besides views of some other authors are referred to in terms of भवत् , अपर, अन्य, एक etc.

We may now look at the background and perspective against which कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि approach the study of अष्टाध्यायी.

As referred to earlier पतञ्जलि speaks of three language varieties viz. वैदिक, लौकिक and what has been called अपभ्रंश, अपशब्द , म्लेच्छ . He has provided samples of each variety.

कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि were very much concerned with preserving the purity of लौकिक from its being contaminated by अपभ्रंश usages. To guarantee this study of grammar was considered an absolute necessity. The लौकिक speech in its ideal form was available only <u>orally</u>. It had not been described formally in a grammatical text which could be used for teaching purposes.

Of several grammars describing Vedic and spoken varieties of speech available in his times, कात्यायन must have regarded the अष्टाध्यायी as most representative and authentic, next to the unrecorded speech of the शिष्ट. As attested by पतञ्जलि, by and large expressions explained in the अष्टाध्यायी conformed to the speech of the शिष्ट. The latter was regarded much richer and fuller. The शिष्ट were believed to be conversant even with usages that were not explained in the अष्टाध्यायी. (अयं नूनम् अन्यान् अपि जानाति . भाष्य. on 63108).

372

Consequently usages current in the speech of शिष्ट were preferred to those produced by rules of अष्टाध्यायी. Expressions explained in अष्टाध्यायी were <u>not</u> accepted for the simple reason that these were <u>not</u> current. For instance, expressions like आदित्यदर्शः 'on who sees the sun', हिमवच्छ्राव: 'one who listens to the Himalaya', ग्रामगम: 'one who goes to the village' produced according to (321) are not accepted because these are not in vogue i.e. not part of the speech of the शिष्ट (अनभिधानात् वा. 5 on 321).

In the times of कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि scope of लौकिक was confined to the community of शिष्ट in आर्यावर्त as mentioned before. They acquired it by birth and spoke it in absolutely flawlessly accurate form. The rest of the ब्राह्मण community had to study grammar i.e. the अष्टाध्यायी to avoid use of incorrect and corrupted expressions. (दुष्टान् शब्दान् मा प्रयुक्ष्महि इति अध्येयं व्याकरणम् . भाष्य. पस्पशा). Women folk in general were deficient in its use. Perhaps they were not encouraged to study grammar. Male members were urged to study grammar so that they were not treated like women in the matter of greetings. (अभिवादे स्त्रीवन् मा भूम इति अध्येय व्याकरणम् . भाष्य . पस्पशा)

It is interesting to note that both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि believed in all seriousness that proficiency acquired in use of speech through study of grammar has its rewards not only in this world but also in the next. कात्यायन for instance, says that use of expressions sanctioned by grammar leads to attainment of supreme good fortune. (शास्त्रपूर्वके प्रयोगे अभ्युदय: . भाष्य. पस्पशा on वा. 9). Likewise पतञ्जलि remarks that one skilled in use of

speech attains supreme success in the world hereafter. (एवं ति
ह सो अनन्तम् आप्नोति जयं परत्र वा योगवित् . भाष्य. पस्पशा)

To understand why कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि were concerned so
much with safeguarding the purity and chastity of the
speech of the शिष्ठ, even a cursory view of the times when
they flourished would make it clear that language scenario
was not much to their liking.

Maybe due to the fast spreading word of Buddha or even
otherwise because of the historical evolutionary process of
Indo-Aryan languages, regional speech varieties were
coming to their own. Vedic language and ritualism were in
the serious danger of being swept away. Threatened and
dismayed by these dismal circumstances both कात्यायन and पत
ञ्जलि as leaders of priestly ब्राह्मण class fought hard to stem
the tide of rising regional dialects. They offered, thus, all
sorts of plausible arguments and tempting incentives to urge
ब्राह्मण youths to hold on to the use of लौकिक speech of शिष्ठ and
study of Vedic lore.

To achieve this end both recommend strongly study of
grammar to enable them to interpret and recite वैदिक text
correctly with proper accentuation and qualify themselves to
perform liturgical services. (आर्त्विजीना: स्याम् इति अध्येयं व्याकरणम्) (भ
ाष्य. पस्पशा).   And to speak correctly the spoken variety as
used by the शिष्ठ was desirable in any case.

For teaching grammar they needed a good reliable text-
book. Although both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि were well-grounded
in वैदिक lore and proficient in the speech of the शिष्ठ but they
did not venture to write up a suitable grammatical treatise.
Probably overall language situation did not encourage
them to undertake structural description of a speech spoken

by a very tiny segment of society. And above all there appeared to be little justification for a new text book when so many reputed grammatical descriptions were already available. Whatever might have been the reasons neither of them came forward to compose a new grammar.

As कात्यायन might have looked around in search of a good text book, the अष्टाध्यायी must have struck him as an excellent piece to serve the purpose he had in mind, since linguistic structures and patterns produced by its rules were largely in conformity with those found in the speech of the शिष्ट of his times. He, thus, seems to have decided to accept it as a worthy and authentic text and undertook to fill up whatever deficiencies he thought there were in its structural description. Thus he supplied supplementary structural statements in the form of वार्तिकs appended appropriately to the सूत्रs of the अष्टाध्यायी as required. In a way he, thus, managed to revise and update the अष्टाध्यायी for his times.

As we survey what कात्यायन did to update the अष्टाध्यायी, we find that out of 3995 statements of the अष्टाध्यायी he reviewed only 1254, a little less than one third. The rest of the text was acceptable to him as it was. It needed no revision.

पतञ्जलि who came later also endorses अष्टाध्यायी as an expedient and proper textbook for their purpose. He made necessary comments through the वार्तिकs of कात्यायन and also independently on some सूत्रs as was needed. He commented on 1689 सूत्रs in all.

We may discuss here some वार्तिकs to illustrate what type of information he thought was missing in the अष्टाध्यायी to update

it to explicate usages prevalent in his times. We shall take note here of पतञ्जलि's observations also.

The fact that the अष्टाध्यायी, a grammar written much before their times, was the choice of कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि for study, is crucially significant in the history of development of spoken speech and production of grammatical literature.

Not all of कात्यायन's वार्तिकs are significant equally structurally. For instance, there are 15 वार्तिकs on भूवादयो धातव: (131), which states that भू and similar other items listed here are धातु, verb stems. Verbal stems are defined by enumeration. There is hardly anything substantially that can be discussed about this statement. कात्यायन does not add any new items to this list. Rather he discusses all sorts of miscellaneous issues relating to धातुs of course which can find no place in a grammar written in सूत्र style.

Take another instance. कात्यायन has three वार्तिकs on ध्रुवम् अपाये अ पादानम् (कारके) (1424). Each of the three वार्तिकs touches on different aspects of the statement.

In the first वार्तिक he proposes inclusion of verb bases denoting जुगुप्सा 'disgust', विराम 'cessation' and प्रमाद 'neglect' in the group of verbal bases denoting अपाय 'moving away'. This addition is simply justified.

पतञ्जलि also makes a plea to include सांकाश्येभ्य: पाटलिपुत्रका अभिरूप तरा: 'The inhabitants of सांकाश्य are more handsome than those of पाटलिपुत्र'.

पतञ्जलि in his exposition of this वार्तिक adduces the examples अ धर्माज् जुगुप्सते 'He shrinks away from अधर्म', धर्माद् विरमति 'He stops practicing धर्म' and धर्मात् प्रमाद्यति 'He neglects performing धर्म'

376

and argues against their inclusion in the statement. According to the explanation offered by him these actions are included in अपाय 'moving away'. Thus nominal bases in construction with these bases <u>do</u> designate अपादन कारक in terms of (1424).

Citation of the example सांकाश्येभ्य: etc. by पतञ्जलि looks a little odd. The verbal form involved here is भवन्ति/सन्ति It is rather an example of setting सांकाश्य and पाटलिपुत्रक into two groups and then comparing them in point of their being handsome and declaring finally that पाटलिपुत्रक are more handsome than सांकाश्य. The use of 5th विभक्ति with सांकाश्य is provided in (2342). It does <u>not</u> denote अपादन, in any case.

We agree with Joshi and Rood Bergen that this statement looks like a later addition to the भाष्य by a rather careless redactor. (व्याकरण महाभाष्य कारक आह्निक Footnote 190 p 59).

The second वार्तिक asserts that nominal bases denoting entities in motion cannot receive the designation अपादन since these are not fixed. (गतियुक्तेष्वपादानसंज्ञा नोपपद्यते अध्रुवत्वात्).

It is a basic objection at first sight. पतञ्जलि in his comments adduces the examples- अश्वात् त्रस्तात् पतित: 'He fell from a shying horse', रथात् प्रवीतात् पतित: 'He fell from a chariot in motion', and सार्थाद् गच्छतो हीन: 'He strayed from the moving caravan'.

However, on second thought, कात्यायन comes to convince himself that this has not to be so, since the speaker may not intend to express instability. (न वाध्रौव्यस्याविविक्षतत्वात्). Thus according to him nominal bases in construction with verbal bases denoting moving away express अपादन relation even

though objects denoted by them may be in motion. The speaker does <u>not</u> desire to express instability.

The issue closes so far as कात्यायन is concerned.

पतञ्जलि, however, pursues the matter. He approaches it from a different point of view. With real or fanciful etymologies of nominal bases involved in these utterances, he rather tries to establish that instead of instability, objects denoted by these nominal bases express stability which is inherent in them as if. And that is what the speaker intends to express. For instance, that which is horse-ness in a horse is its going quickly. Being an inborn feature of a horse it is stationary. And it is what is desired by the speaker to be expressed. (इ ह तावद् अश्वात् त्रस्तात् पतित इति यत् तद् अश्वे अश्वत्वम् आशुगामित्वं, तद् ध्रुवम् तच् च विवक्षितम्).

In his quest to prove his point for all times पतञ्जलि goes a step further. He expounds the notion of विवक्षा. He assumes that a speaker may not desire to express instability even in such cases as धावत: पतति 'He falls from the running one', etc. where the object is in actual motion. Here also what is desired to be expressed is stability. Thus, running does <u>not</u> block ascription of अपादन relation to whatever object is denoted by 'धावत: ' here. He is even prepared to grant the speaker a license to refuse to express something which <u>does</u> exist in reality. A girl having a <u>belly</u> all the time may be described as belly-less. (अनुदरा कन्येति). And on the contrary something that does <u>not</u> exist may be described as existing e.g. the ocean is a bowl. (असतश्च विवक्षा भवति समुद्र: कुण्डिका).

पतञ्जलि's hair-splitting arguments do not make a running horse stationary. कात्यायन takes a common sense view. Falling

from a horse, running or stationary, is simply falling from a horse. Horse remains the point from which the act of falling originates. The speaker (as well as the hearer) can afford to forget about in what position the horse is at the moment of falling. It can be assumed as good as to be stationary. After all running track can be visualized as nothing but a series of infinite number of stable points. The moment of falling may be imagined to be coinciding with one of these.

पतञ्जलि's distinction between धावतो अश्वात् पतति and धावत: पतति is obviously distinction-less. In the latter the object qualified by धावत: is <u>not</u> explicitly mentioned. धावत: does <u>not</u> express anything in the abstract. It undoubtedly refers to no other object but a horse or the like.

पाणिनि's formulation is intended to explicate such linguistic usages as अश्वात् पतित:, धावतो अश्वात् पतित: In both constructions अश्व denotes अपादन relation vis-à-vis पत् . The native speaker does not bother whether the horse is stationary or in motion at the time of fall. If पाणिनि subsumes all such nominal bases as अश्व etc. in spite of their being in motion also, under ध्रुव fixed point of reference with regard to actions denoted by verbal bases meaning 'moving away', it is only in the sense that falling point is considered as stationary in respect of the act of falling.

We may discuss another structural statement of the अष्टाध्यायी which has been commented upon by कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि to account for usages prevalent in their respective times. We find it is reformulated and reinterpreted by them in this context in their own respective ways.

पाणिनि's statement मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषा अप्राणिषु (चतुर्थी) (2317) is intended to account for optional use of 4th विभक्ति after

nominal bases denoting nonliving beings expressing कर्मन् in relation to the verb stem मन् 'consider regard (belonging to the दिवादि class)' when disrespect is meant.

Relevant linguistic data, पाणिनि has in view in formulating this statement is of the following type.

अहं त्वा तृणं मन्ये   "I consider you as good as a straw".

अहं त्वा बुसं मन्ये   "I consider you as good as a piece of chaff" etc., etc.

Optionally the 4th विभक्ति forms तृणाय, बुसाय etc. may be used here.

The negative particle न may also be used in the above utterances. We may, thus, have.

नाहं त्वा तृणं मन्ये/नाहं त्वा तृणाय मन्ये ।

नाहं त्वा बुसं मन्ये/नाहं त्वा बुसाय मन्ये ।

It may be noted that both युष्मद् and तृण etc. hold कर्मन् relation with मन् here. However, optional use of 4th विभक्ति is found with तृण, बुस etc. The reason is simple. It is comparison with a worthless object like तृण that expresses disrespect.

We presume that such usages as follows are in order since no disrespect is intended here. Rather these express some sort of excellence. Optional use of 4th विभक्ति is out of question here.

अहं त्वा सागरं मन्ये ।   'I consider you an ocean
                           (in point of depth)'.

अहं त्वा सूर्यं मन्ये ।   'I consider you sun
                           (in point of brilliance)'.

अहं त्वा चन्द्रमसं मन्ये ।   'I consider you moon

(in point of beauty)'.

कात्यायन's times

In कात्यायन's times optional use of 4th विभक्ति with nominal bases denoting कर्मन् was understood to convey <u>extreme</u> disrespect. He, thus, makes a <u>semantic</u> distinction in use of 2nd and 4th वि भक्ति. The utterance अहं त्वा तृणं मन्ये means simply 'I regard you worth a straw', while, on the other hand, नाहं त्वा तृणाय मन्ये implies 'I regard you not even worth a straw i.e. totally useless'. Use of negative particle <u>न</u> is concomitant in indicating intensity of disrespect.

कात्यायन, thus, proposes to read the expression प्रकृष्य कुत्सित 'strong disparagement' in the statement (मन्यकर्मणि प्रकृष्यकुत्सितग्रहणम् । वा.). It has, thus, to be reformulated as follows.

<div align="center">

मन्यकर्मणि प्रकृष्यकुत्सिते विभाषा अप्राणिषु (चतुर्थी).

</div>

Following were the usages prevalent in कात्यायन's times

> अहं त्वा तृणं मन्ये   'I consider you as good as a straw. (mild disrespect)'.
> नाहं त्वा तृणाय मन्ये 'I do not consider you even worth a straw. (strong disrespect)'.

पतञ्जलि's Times

A greater variety of usages is attested in पतञ्जलि's times as given below.

१भ (न) अहं त्वा तृणं मन्ये ।
२भ (न) अहं त्वा बुसं मन्ये ।
३भ (न) अहं त्वा श्वानं मन्ये ।

4. न त्वा नावं मन्ये (यावत् तीर्ण न नाव्यम्) 'I do not consider you a boat (until you have crossed the ferry)'.

5. न त्वान्नं मन्ये (यावद् भुक्तं न श्राद्धम्) 'I do not regard you food (until you have been partaken of (by ब्राह्मण) as श्राद्ध food)'.

6. न त्वा काकं मन्ये 'I do not regard you even a crow'.

7. न त्वा शुकं मन्ये 'I do not regard you even a parrot'.

Structurally these belong to <u>two</u> structural groups viz. (a) consisting of (1-3) and (b) consisting of (4-7). In (a) 4th विभक्ति occurs optionally while in (b) there is no such option. All constructions denote disrespect.

Nominal bases in these respective groups cannot be characterized by any exclusive features. Each group contains nominal bases denoting living and non-living entities. No single structural statement is thus possible.

पतञ्जलि proposes to split पाणिनि's above statement as follows.

भि　　　मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषा (चतुर्थी)

ि॒भि　　　अप्राणिषु

In (ii) he reads विभाषा from (i). Thus it comes to अप्राणिषु च विभाषा.

By implication (i) above refers to living beings only. Thus it accounts for the following usages.

　　　　न त्वा श्वानं मन्ये

　　　　न त्वा शुने मन्ये　　　'I do not consider you even a dog'.

But it also allows the following undesired usages.

　　　　न त्वा काकाय मन्ये

　　　　न त्वा शुकाय मन्ये

(ii) Refers to non-living beings. It accounts for the following usages.

<div style="text-align:center">

न त्वा तुणं/तृणाय मन्ये

न त्वा बुसं/बुसाय मन्ये

</div>

But it also allows following undesired usages.

<div style="text-align:center">

न त्वा नावे मन्ये

न त्वा अन्नाय मन्ये

</div>

Rule-splitting, thus, does not serve any purpose. He gives it up. पतञ्जलि, next decides to list nominal bases, animate and inanimate, that show <u>no</u> optional use of 4th विभक्ति. What are these? He does <u>not</u> provide any exhaustive list. These are perhaps the ones that are illustrated in the examples cited here, namely नौ 'a boat', अन्न 'food (non-living)'; काक 'a crow', शुक 'a parrot (living ones)'. He subsumes these under the group called नावादि after नौ.

Thus he reformulates पाणिनि's above statement as follows by substituting अनावादिषु in place of अप्राणिषु.

<div style="text-align:center">

कर्मण्यनादरे विभाषा अनावादिषु (चतुर्थी)

</div>

It may be rendered as follows.

> "To denote disrespect 4th विभक्ति is used optionally after nominal bases expressing कर्मन् in construction with the verb stem मन् excepting those included in the list नावादि".

Thus पतञ्जलि manages to account for all usages found in use in his times. For this he has to recast पाणिनि's structural statement.

<div style="text-align:center">

383

</div>

To conclude

To <u>adapt</u> structural statements of अष्टाध्यायी to account for usages current in their respective times, both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि resort to various devices. Illustrative examples are given above. However, it will be an interesting study to examine in detail how they go about this task. पतञ्जलि coming later examines in a similar manner कात्यायन's वार्तिकs besides statements of the अष्टाध्यायी. Such a study will throw light on shape of spoken speech of the शिष्ट s in their respective times and development of linguistic thought from पाणिनि onward. Here we can do no more than pointing out the problem.

Interpretation of अष्टाध्यायी

Now we proceed to examine how कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि <u>interpret</u> structural statements of अष्टाध्यायी when they have to.

पतञ्जलि lays down that understanding of a structural statement results from its analysis into constituent पदs, e.g. वृद्धिः आत् ऐच् for वृद्धिरादैच् (111), citing suitable examples, counter-examples and completing elliptical sentences. All these taken together constitute explication of a सूत्र (ननु चोक्तं न केवलानि च चापदानि व्याख्यानम् वृद्धिः आत् ऐज् इति । किं तर्हि? उदाहरणं, प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इति । एतत् समुदितं व्याख्यानम् भवति) (भाष्य. पस्पशा on वा. 14).

We believe this is <u>not</u> sufficient enough to yield full structural significance of a सूत्र. A structural statement in the अष्टाध्यायी explicates one or the other structural feature of linguistic data underlying its formation. Thus to grasp fully structural import of a statement and interpret it in its

384

intended meaning, we have to keep in mind the type of data that underlies its formulation. A structural statement, therefore, has to be necessarily <u>correlated</u> with appropriate linguistic data. Mere citation of examples illustrating structural feature or features explained in a statement is not enough to establish correlation between structural statement and linguistic data. A structural statement does not flow on its own accord from such examples illustrating structural features. It is a deductive process involved here. A grammarian-analyst has to perceive structural relationship between linguistic elements in such data and weave these into a structural statement. In our explanation of a statement we have to revive (unravel) the whole process which a grammarian-analyst has experienced while formulating a statement. Simple citation of examples and counter examples does <u>not</u> reveal it.

Most of the statements may be found transparent with regard to such correlation with linguistic data. It is only in some statements that such correlation may look obscured and a student may be misled, if not particularly watchful. We may discuss below an example how कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि fail to establish any correlation between the statement and linguistic data that underlies its formulation.

The expression कारक in (1423) designates sets of nominal bases identified variously as co-occurring with respective sets of verbal bases as described in (1424-55): The nominal base वृक्ष 'a tree' co-occurring with पत् 'fall' in वृक्षात् पर्ण पतति 'The leaf falls from the tree', is designated as कारक and belongs to the type called अपादन (1424).

385

This becomes all too clear if we concede that these statements are based on <u>structural analysis</u> of linguistic data consisting of such utterances as वृक्षात् पर्ण पतति.

In the अष्टाध्यायी the term कारक is used as a technical term all the way. True, it is <u>not</u> defined there. Nonetheless a student of अष्टाध्यायी will not miss to notice that the term designates nominal bases things, entities denoted by which help actualize actions expressed by verbal bases co-occurring with them in syntactic constructions. It is, thus, characterized in pragmatic terms.

For पाणिनि it is a technical term just like वृद्धि , गुण, प्रत्यय , etc. It has little to do with its derivational connotation.

Read in the 7th विभक्ति singular in (1423), it is construed with expressions ध्रुवम् etc. occurring in the 1st विभक्ति in the following statements. It is intended to designate nominal bases denoted by ध्रुव etc. as कारक of a particular type as mentioned in each statement.

कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि, to start with, regard कारक as a technical term but in its <u>derivational</u> meanings viz. one who does (करोति इति कारकम् भाष्य. on वा. 5). It is their definition of the term.

Such a definition, however, results into interpretational problems of all sorts which are voiced by कात्यायन in <u>15</u> वार्तिकs and discussed by पतञ्जलि in detail. Finally the महाभाष्य concludes equating कारक with क्रिया. It may be assumed that the affix   ण्वुल्=अक after कृ in deriving कारक is used pleonastically (स्वार्थ). Thus the statement कारके (1423) is interpreted as क्रियायाम् . The महाभाष्य observes that so much

does क्रियायाम् express as much does कारके । (अथवा यावद् ब्रूयात् क्रिया याम् इति तावत् कारके इति भाष्य. on वा. 15).

According to them a statement like ध्रुवम् अपाये अपादानम् (कारके) (1424) may be rendered as follows.

"Whatever remains stable (ध्रुवम्) in the realization of action of moving away (अपाये कारके), is called अपादान.

Such an interpretation of the expression कारक dilutes and extenuates its structural significance which is intended by पाणि नि by using it as a technical term all the way in the अष्टाध्यायी.

Obviously कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि were misled in their interpretation of the statement कारके (1423) by <u>not</u> correlating it with linguistic facts which underlie its formulation and characterizing the term कारक as a technical term. Instead they put all their faith in its etymological sense and relied on hair-splitting argumentations.

In our study of कारक phenomenon and interpretation of various structural statements we have kept in view the type of language data that underlie formulation of each of these. Interpretation of अष्टाध्यायी demands that facts of language that form basis of a statement be invariably exhibited (stated) explicitly. Logical and philosophical speculations do not serve as magical keys to unlock structural secrets of these statements.

ॐ

1. Abhyanka, Kashinath Vasudeva

    1977   A dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar 2nd edition, revised by J. M. Shukla.

                                      Baroda Oriental Institute, Baroda, India.

2. Brahamdatta Jijnasu

    1964   Ashtadhyayi-bhasya-prathama-vrttti

                                        Part I , First Edition

    1965   Part II

    1968   Part III Prajnadevi

3. Cardona, George

    1997   Panini - His work and its tradition

                                        Volume One : Background and introduction

                                        2nd Edition - Revised and enlarged

                                        Motilal Banarsidas, Publsihers Pvt. Delhi India

4. Charudeva Shastri

    1969-73   Vyakarna - chandrodaya (Hindi)

5 Vols.

Motilal Banarsidas,
Publsihers Pvt. Delhi
India

5. Dvarikadas Shastri and Kalika Prasad Shukla

    1965-67   Kashika-vrtti with
Nyas of
Jitendrabuddhi and
Pada-manjari of
Haradatta

6 Vols.

Tara Publications,
Varanasi

6 Giridhara Sharma, Chaturveda and Parmeshvarananda
    Sharma, Bhaskar

    1940-41   Vyakarna -
Siddhanata-kaumudi
of Bhattoji Dikshita
with Balamanorama
of Vasudeva Dikshita
and Tattva-bodhini of
Jnanedra Sarsvati

IV Vols.

Motilal Banarsidas,
Lahore

7. Joshi, S. D. and J. A. F. Roodbergen

    1971-90   Patanjali's Vyakarna-
Mahabhasya

		(Text, translation and notes)
		Poona University, Poona
	1991-95	The Ashtadhyayi of Panini
		Five Vols. (up to 2172 only)
		Sahitya Academy, New Delhi
8. Katre, S. M.		
	1968-69	Dictionary of Panini
		Deccan College, Poona
	1987	Ashtadhyayi of Panini (Roman)
		University of Texas
9. Kielhorn L Franz		
	1962-72 (ed.)	The Vyakarna Mahabhasya of Patanjali
		Three Vols.
		Third Edition, Revised by Abhyankar, Kashinath Vasudeva
		Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona
10. Kiaprsky, Paul		

1979   Panini as a variationist

                              The M. I. T. Press,
                              Cambridge MA and
                              London, England

                              In collaboration with
                              the Center of
                              Advanced Studies in
                              Sanskrit, University of
                              Poona, Poona, India.

11. Sharma, Rama Natha

1987   The Ashtadhyayi of
                              Panini: Vol. I

                              Introduction to the
                              Ashtadhyayi as
                              Grammatical Device

1990   Vol. II (chapter one of
                              the Ashtadhyayi)

                              Munshiram
                              Manoharlal, New
                              Delhi

12. Pathaka, Shankardeva

1939   Ashtadhyayi sutra-
                              patha with vartika
                              and ganapatha

                              Gurukul Vishva-
                              vidyalaya

                              Vrindavana

                              Reprint 1990,
                              Panipat, Haryana

13. Singh, Jag Deva

    1991   Panini - His Description of Sanskrit:

                     An analytical study of the Ashtadhyayi

                     Munshiram Manoharlal, Publsihers Pvt. Ltd. Delhi India

14. Vasu S. C.

    1891   The Ashtadhyayi of Panini (Tr.) 2 Vols.

    1906   The Siddhanta-kaumudi of Bhattoji Dikshita (Tr.) 2 Vols.

                     Reprints: Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi

15. Vedavrta

    1962-63   Vyakarna Mahabhasyam pradipa-udyota-vimarasaih samalamkritam

                     5 Vols.

                     Gurukul Jhajjar, Rohtak

16. Yudhisthira Mimamsaka

1974	Patanjali-muni-virachitam Mahabhasya Hindi-vyakhya-sahitam
	3 Vols.
	Pyarelal Drakshadevi Trust, New Delhi
17. Yudhisthira Mimamsaka	
Samvat 2030(1973)	History of Sanskrit Grammar (Hindi)
3rd, 2nd and 1st editions	3 Vols.
Respectively	Ramlal Kapur Trust
	Bahalgargh, Sonepat

Other Works

1. अष्टादश स्मृति	पं मिहिर चन्द
(भाषा टीका सहित)	
1990	नाग प्रकाशन, जवाहरनगर, दिल्ही
2. आपस्तम्ब-धर्म सूत्रम्	उमेशचन्द्र पाण्डेय
(द्वितीय संस्करण)	चौखम्भा संस्कृत सीरीज़्
संवत् २०२६ (1969)	काशी संस्कृत ग्रन्थमाला
3. आश्वलायन गुह्य सूत्राणि (मूल)	
1861	Adolf Friedrich Stanzle

393

	Leipzig
4. कठक सूत्र	
1925	Caland
5. कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र	R. D. Kangle
3 Vols.	
1997	Reprint, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi
6. गीता	
7. गोपथ ब्राह्मण भाष्यम्	श्री पं क्षेमकरण दास त्रिवेदी
(हिन्दि भाष्य)	
द्वितीय संस्करण	अथर्ववेद भाष्य कार्यालय
1977	३४ लूकर गंज, इलाहबाद
8. छन्दोग्योपनिषद्	Swami Gambhirananada
	(Tr. with the commentary of Shankracharya)
1983	Advait Ashram, 5 Dehi Entally Rd. Calcutta
9. Eight Upnishadas	Swami Madhavananada
	2 Vols. with Shankaracharya Bhasya
	Advait Ashram

Mayavati,
Pithoragarh,
Himalayas

10. पाराशर स्मृति   अल्का शुक्ल

परिमल पब्लिकेशन, २७/२८ शक्तिनगर, दिल्ली

11. बुद्धचरितम्   (ed.) E. H. Johnston

1935   The university of
Punjab, Lahore

12. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्   Swami
Madhavananda

(with the commentary of Shankaracharya)

Advait Ashram,
Mayavati, Almora,
Himalayas

13. भागवत पुराण

14. भारद्वाज-गृह्य-सूत्र   Henriette, J. W.
Salemons

1913   Leydon

15. भासनाटक चक्रम्   (ed.) R. Devadhar, M.
A.

Poona Oriental Book
Agency, Poona

16. मनुस्मृति   पं हरगोविन्द शास्त्री
(मणिप्रभा हिन्दी टीका सहित)

395

		चौखम्भा संस्कृतसीरीज़् आफिस, वाराणसी
17. महाभारत		Text as constituted in its critical edition
	5 Vols.	The Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
18. श्रीमद् वाल्मीकि रामायणम्		Published by R. Narayana Swami
	(Text)	
	1933	Madras Law Juournal Press, Madras
		Mylapore, Madras
19. श्री वासिष्ठ धर्म शास्त्रम्		
	1883	(ed.) Rev. Alois Fuhrer, Ph. D.
		The Department of Public Instructions, Bombay
		Bombay Govt. Oriental Book Depot.
20. स्मृतीनां समुच्चयः		(ed.) विनायक गणेश आप्टे , B. A.
	1929	आनन्दाश्रम संस्कृत ग्रन्थावलि, पुण्यपतन , Poona

21. हिरण्यकेशि-गृह्य-सूत्र   J. Kriste

    1889

22. Hymns from the Veda   Abinashchandra Bose

    1966   Asia Publishing House, Bombay

23. Patanjali-kaleen Bharat   Agnihotri, Prabhudayal

                                  Rashtra-bhasha-parishad, Patana, Bihar

ॐ

399

401

403

407

408

411

412

413

About the author

Dr. Jag Deva Singh, taught Linguistics at Kurukshetra University, and was a Visiting Professor at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. He was Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Maharishi Dayananda University, Rohtak and Senior Research Fellow, International School of Dravidian Linguistics. He moved to the United States of America in 1982 and has been working on Panini ever since. In 1989 he co-founded Panini Foundation, a non-profit research organization dedicated to the study of Indian Linguistic Tradition, based in Westerville, Ohio.

He has already published *A Structural Grammar of Bangaru, Beginning Sanskrit* and *Panini: His Description of Sanskrit — An analytical study of the Ashtadhyayi.* He is presently engaged in working out Panini's views on language, his theory of linguistic analysis and technique of description.

ॐ

About this book

In Sanskrit grammatical tradition पाणिनि, कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि are regarded as forming a triumvirate. However, each succeeding one is looked upon as enjoying higher authority. पतञ्जलि is, thus, the supreme (authority). And his महाभाष्य is supposed to hold the key to the interpretation of the अष्टाध्यायी. पाणिनि's image in a way is, thus, befogged in the tradition.

A perusal of महाभाष्य gives an impression that कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि did <u>not</u> receive any authentic tradition of interpretation of the अष्टाध्यायी. Thus many puzzles in पाणिनि remain unresolved.

The author feels that in the absence of any genuine tradition of study of पाणिनि one has to fall back upon the अष्टाध्यायी text to unravel its secrets. He takes अष्टाध्यायी, as received today, a full and complete grammar of both the varieties of speech viz. छान्दस and भाषा. The grammatical account of these varieties is an <u>integrated</u> one displaying पाणिनि's profound grounding in linguistic theory as well as in technique of formulation of structural statements, their organization and presentation. Any supplemental language data presented and discussed in the महाभाष्य is of little avail to

understand and interpret the अष्टाध्यायी.

With these assumptions the author proceeds to study the segment of पाणिनि's grammar dealing with the phenomenon of कारक.

The term कारक is used in technical meanings all through पाणिनि's grammar, though not defined. On the basis of his use of the term in various (structural) contexts, a pragmatic definition is suggested here. 'Nominal stems, 'things, entities' denoted by which 'help actualize' 'action, activity' denoted by verb stem, co-occurring with them, are कारकs. Nominal stems denote कारकs. Nominal विभक्तिs by and large and verbal inflections denote these relations in syntactic constructions.

The कारक relationship is sensitive to nominal विभक्तिs and thus the maximum number of कारक distinctions could be <u>six</u>. From a scrutiny of कर्तृ-वाच्य type of constructions पाणिनि works out all such pairs of co-occurring nominal and verb stems that denote कारक relationships and organizes these pairs, specific to each कारक into one or more sets denoting freedom of co-occurrence of constituents in such sets. These are described in the statements (1424-54) given under कारके (1423).

As structural information to be coded in each

statement is the same, formal format of <u>all</u> statements has to be identical. Failure of recognition of this feature in tradition leads to confusion in interpretation of some of these statements. Muddled interpretation, in particular, of statements relating to अपादान and कर्तृ — interpretation of expressions ईप्सिततम, अनीप्सित and अकथित relating to कर्मन् , स्वतंत्र relating to कर्तृ and treatment of अपादान कारक in particular bear out the truth of these observations.

The author has shown that there is no overlapping among pairs and thus there is no probability of developing dependency relationships among कारक as contended by कात्यायन.

The author makes a detailed study of the notions of अनभिहित and शेष. He takes this opportunity to state very briefly पाणिनि's view of language and goal of grammar.

The study throws a fresh outlook on treatment of कारक in all its aspects. The study is refreshing. Exposition of the subject is from an altogether new perspective, unexplored as yet.

ॐ

Some forthcoming publications:

1. समर्थानाम् प्रथमाद् वा : - Arvind Rana Ph. D. In two volumes: Volume one discusses formation of morphological strings based on underlying syntactic structures as described by पाणिनि and some general questions. Volume two attempts to develop a computer program conforming with पाणिनिन's structural statements, capable of generating तद्धित formations. (The work is a revised and enlarged version of his dissertation submitted for award of Ph.D. degree to the Arts Faculty of M.D. University, Rohtak, India).

2. लस्य - An exposition of three-tier system of producing verbal forms postulated by पाणिनि in (3477-112).:

3. संहितायाम् - In the formation of grammatical constructions, underlying linguistic primes – nominal and verbal roots and affixes, undergo various phonological changes at different stages of their derivation. It is examined here, what features distinguish changes effected under संहिता from those described under अंग, भ etc.?

4. ससजुषो रुः - Justification of introducing an element रु to account for phonological changes in प

द final स ष द न and म and questions relating to its phonetic nature and phonological role are discussed. (In tradition this issue is simply bypassed).

5. समर्थः पद-विधिः - Such questions are examined here as what category of पद s are recognized by पाणिनि to constitute such sequences, nature of relationships between them, types of operations involved etc.

6. छान्दस वाग्धारा - Beginning and advanced courses in Vedic language and literature are planned in three parts with expository notes on text and progressive lessons in grammar and prosody.

7. हरयाणी क्रिया (Hindi): - Morphology, syntax and verbal lexicon containing roots, derivatives and compound stems with primary nominal derivatives.

ॐ